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SOUTHERN PAIUTE, A SHOSHONEAN LANGUAGE.

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PREFACE.

The following sketch of Southern Paiute, which was completed in December, 1917, is offered as a contribution to the scientific study of the Shoshonean languages. Whether or not it proves to be fairly typical of the whole group in phonologic and morphologic respects must be left to future research.

My first field acquaintance with Shoshonean linguistics was gained in a short trip during August and September of 1909 among the Northern Utes of Uintah Reserve, Utah. This trip was undertaken, with the collaboration of Dr. J. A. Mason, under the auspices of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. A number of Ute texts were secured, supplemented by considerable grammatical information. To extend and deepen the insight into Plateau Shoshonean linguistics then obtained it seemed advisable, indeed necessary, to undertake further researches. Hence arrangements were made by the late Dr. G. B. Gordon, Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, with the authorities of the Indian school at Carlisle to have one of their Paiute students, Tony Tillohash, put at my disposal for the ethnologic and linguistic study of his tribe. I worked with Tony, who proved to be an excellent informant, in Philadelphia from February to May of 1910. A series of texts, much supplementary grammatical material, a large number of songs, and considerable ethnological information were obtained. The Paiute linguistic data proved so much superior to the Ute which I had previously secured that I have decided in this sketch to limit myself to the former. Moreover, there is enough phonetic, lexical, and morphologic difference between Ute and Southern Paiute to render the attempt to describe both at the same time confusing. I hope to publish a briefer sketch of the Ute language at some future date.

The present volume is to be followed by a series of Southern Paiute and Ute texts and by a Southern Paiute vocabulary. It is a great pleasure to recall the unflagging patience and helpfulness of Tony Tillohash and the kindness with which Dr. Gordon did all that lay in his power to make these studies possible. My thanks are due Miss Jane McHugh, the Secretary and at that time Acting Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and the authorities of the Museum for permission to have these Paiute studies published by the

American Academy of Arts and Sciences. To Professor Franz Boas I owe a special debt of gratitude for arranging with the Bureau of American Ethnology that I prepare the present paper, later transferred to the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and for his more recent efforts in enlisting the interest of the Academy in the publication of my Southern Paiute manuscripts.

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SOUTHERN PAIUTE, A SHOSHONEAN LANGUAGE.

§ 1. *Distribution and Literature.*

The Shoshonean dialect that is more particularly treated in this paper is Kaibab Paiute, spoken in southwestern Utah and northwestern Arizona. The name Kaibab is an Anglicized form of the native *qa'iva·vtcï* "mountain-lying, plateau." The Kaibab Paiutes are only one of a large number of tribes or bands in southwestern Utah, northwestern Arizona, southern Nevada, and southeastern California that have been loosely grouped together as Paiute proper or Southern Paiute. The linguistic differences found in the speech of the various Paiute bands are slight. Paiute itself belongs, according to Kroeber's terminology, to the Ute-Chemehuevi branch of Plateau Shoshonean, a branch that includes, besides the Paiute dialects, the Ute dialects of western Colorado and most of Utah, Kawaiisu (spoken in south-central California), and Chemehuevi (spoken in southeastern California along the Colorado; the Chemehuevi are probably nothing but a Paiute band that have been subjected to strong Yuman influences). It is doubtful if even the geographically extreme Ute-Chemehuevi dialects, say Uncompahgre Ute and Chemehuevi, are not mutually intelligible with considerable ease. The two other branches of Plateau Shoshonean are Shoshone-Comanche (including Shoshone proper, Comanche, Gosiute, and Shikaviyam, spoken in California) and Mono-Paviotso (including Mono, Northern Paiute or Paviotso, "Snake" of eastern Oregon, and Bannock). Southern Paiute and Northern Paiute should be carefully distinguished; they are not dialects of the same language, but distinct and mutually unintelligible languages. Indeed, Ute-Chemehuevi differs from both Shoshone-Comanche and Mono-Paviotso in important morphological as well as phonetic respects. Thus, pronominal elements are suffixed (or enclitically affixed) in Ute-Chemehuevi, but prefixed (or proclitically affixed) in the other two branches of Plateau Shoshonean.

The Shoshonean languages, according to Kroeber, comprise four groups: the Plateau Shoshonean languages; Tübatulabal or Kern River, spoken in south-central California; Hopi; and a group of southern Californian languages comprising the Serrano dialects, the dialects of the San Luiseño-Cahuilla branch, and the Gabrielino

dialects. The phonetic, lexical, and morphologic differences between these four groups of Shoshonean languages are evidently considerable. All the Shoshonean languages, taken as a unit, comprise the northernmost representative of the Uto-Aztekan stock. This stock includes, besides Shoshonean, Nahuatl or Aztec and the Sonoran or Piman languages spoken in the long stretch of country between the Mexican state of Jalisco and the Rio Gila (among these languages are Cora; Huichol; Yaqui-Opata-Cahita-Tarahumare; Pima-Papago-Tepehuane-Tepecano). So far as is at present known, the Uto-Aztekan languages are not genetically related to any other American languages.

The published material dealing with the Ute-Chemehuevi dialects is scanty. We have some sketchy material of Kroeber's;[1] a phonetic study of Southern Ute by J. P. Harrington;[2] and a brief abstract on Ute by Sapir.[3] Some linguistic material on Southern Paiute is also contained in Sapir's *Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology*.[4] A comparative treatment of Uto-Aztekan, primarily from the point of view of Southern Paiute, is given in Sapir's *Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztekan*.[5]

Phonology (§ § 2–16).

vowels (§ § 2–8).

§ 2. *Fundamental Vowels.*

Southern Paiute recognizes five primary or organically distinct vowels. These are *a* (as in German *Mann*); *i* (as in French *fini*), which interchanges freely with *ɪ* (as in English *fin*); *u* (open as in English *put*, rarely close as in French *bout*), which interchanges freely

[1] A. L. Kroeber, *Notes on the Ute Language* (American Anthropologist, n. s., 1908, pp. 74–87); notes on Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu (pp. 256–262) in *Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 8, no. 5, 1909).

[2] J. P. Harrington, *The Phonetic System of the Ute Language* (University of Colorado Studies, vol. VIII, 1911, pp. 199–222).

[3] E. Sapir, *Some Fundamental Characteristics of the Ute Language* (American Anthropologist, n. s., 1910, pp. 66–69).

[4] Journal of American Folk-Lore, 1910, pp. 455–72.

[5] Part I (Vowels): Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N. S., X, 1913, pp. 379–425; Part II (Consonants): American Anthropologist, N. S., 1915, pp. 98–120, 306–328, also in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N. S., XI, 1919, pp. 443–488. Part III, to be devoted to morphology, is still due.

with close *o* (as in French *beau*); *ɔ* (as in German *voll*, but much less clearly rounded, hence tending acoustically towards *a*); and *ɨ* (high back unrounded, probably like *ao* of Gaelic *aon*). Of these vowels, *ɨ* is characteristic of most Shoshonean languages. It is often heard as a dull or muddied *ü* or *ö*, but is really not at all related to these vowels, as it is totally unrounded, the lips being perfectly passive. It is most easily acquired by setting the back of the tongue in position for *u* and carefully unrounding the lips without at the same time disturbing the tongue position.

Each of the vowels may be short or long. The long vowels are indicated as *a·*, *i·* (or *ɪ·*), *ʊ·* (or *o·*), *ɔ·*, and *ɨ·*. Diphthongs are common: *ai* (also modified forms *äi*, *ɛi*), *ui* (or *oi*), *ɔi*, *ɨi*; and *au*. Long diphthongs, e. g. *a·i* (*aai*), *ɔ·i* (*ɔ·ɔi*, *ɔɔi*), are also frequent. Such diphthongs, however, are only secondary developments of short diphthongs; no three-moraed syllables are allowed (see § 9, 1). Triphthongs sometimes arise when diphthongs combine with simple vowels, e. g. *aɔi*.

Actually there are many more than five vocalic qualities to be recognized in Southern Paiute. According to their vocalic or consonantic surroundings, each of these is subject to a considerable gamut of modifications, running from comparatively slight changes of nuance to complete assimilation to other primary vowels. The following section gives examples of all the types of vocalic modification that have been noted.

§ 3. *Qualitative Vocalic Changes.*

Many of the modifications here listed are optional; that is, they tend to take place in fairly rapid and uncontrolled speech, where complete or partial assimilations in articulation are particularly apt to occur, but may be absent in more controlled speech. Thus, one hears *i(y)a*, *i(y)ä*, or *i(y)ɛ*, all equivalents of a psychologically fundamental *ia*. It will be most convenient to list the changes under the five fundamental vowels.

(1) Modifications of *a*:

(a) *Palatalization.* After a syllable containing *i*, *a* is frequently palatalized to *ä* (as in English *hat*) or, still further, to *ɛ* (as in English *met*). This takes place particularly when *a* directly follows *i* (with or without glide *y*, see § 14, 2), or when *v* intervenes. Examples are:

ʷi-va·- this-at

ʷi'vä here; *ʷi'vä·ntïmɑnaŋqwA* from here

qanɪ-va·ntuγwa-	house-to	*qanɪ'vä·ntuγwa·mïφï*	to their own house
		ivä'tcï', ivɛ'tcï'	way off, early
ʊ'qwap·ɪ-mantï-	wood-from, some wood	*ʊ'qwa'p·ɪm·äntï, -m·ɛntï*	some wood
pi(y)a-	mother	*piyä'ruγwaφï*	to his own mother; *piyɛ'nɪ* my mother

Much less frequently *a*, standing between a syllable with *i* and a following *y*, may be still further palatalized to close *e*:

aiva(i)ya-	companion	*a'ive(y)aŋwïaŋA*	his companions

(b) *Dulling to* α. Dulling to α (like *u* of English *but*) is extremely common, particularly in unaccented syllables. It seems to take place chiefly before or after nasal consonants (*m, n, ŋ*):

-γa-ntï-	being	*'ɔntcɔ'γɪχαntï*	with one eye lacking
-n·a-	verbal abstract suffix	*ɔra'va·n·αnɪ*	what I shall dig
mʷa-ŋa-	that (anim.)	*mʷαŋ'a·'q·A*	that is the one

(c) *Labialization.* Rather infrequently *a* is darkened to ω (acoustically midway between *a* and *ɔ*) in partial assimilation to an *ɔ* of the preceding or following syllable; this ω was not always carefully distinguished in recording from *ɔ*:

qaa'mpïts·	grouse	*aγɔ'ŋqωampïts·*	fir-grouse
tɔc·a-	white > *tɔ'ca'-*, *tɔha'-* (§ 13, 1, b)	*t'hω'p·a(i)yαmpats·*	white-breasted, gull (also recorded as normal *tɔ'ca'p·a(i)yampats·*)

Further labialization to *ɔ* takes place very frequently after labialized gutturals (*qw, γw, ŋqw*), *wɔ* being often simplified to *ɔ*:

-q·a-	plural subject; combines with preceding *-ru-* to *-ru'q·wa-* or *-RUqwa'-*	*nantï'navuRUqwɔp·ïγaiyaŋA*	several tracked him back and forth
-γw'ai-	to go in order to	*qwɪtca'γw'ɔip·ïγa'*	went to defecate
piyɔ'χwa-	to drag	*piyɔ'χɔm'mɪaχa'*	while dragging along
-vi·naŋqwa-p·a-	behind	*uvʷi·'naŋq(w)ɔp·A*	behind it
-q·wa'ai-	to go	*payɪ'k·wɔ'ɔip·ïγa'*	went home

(2) MODIFICATIONS OF *i* (alternating with *ɪ*, more rarely *e*):

(a) *Diphthongization to ai, ɔi.* This occurs pretty regularly after gutturals (*q*, *γ*, *ŋq*) immediately preceded by *a* and *ɔ* respectively. *ai* is quite frequently heard as *äi*, *ɛi* or as *ᵃi*, *ᵉi* with rather fleeting glide-like *a* or *ɛ*; *ᵉi* is sometimes heard still further reduced to *ï* (see *b*). After *a* + labialized guttural *i* > *ai* may be labialized to *ɔi*, *ᵒi* (cf. 1, c). These diphthongs are not treated as organically such, but regularly count in accentual phenomena as simple vowels (see § 9). Examples are:

paγi- to walk (e. g. in *pa'x·ɪqwa'ai-tca·ŋA* he went away)	*paγa'iŋqw'ai‘* walks off; *paγäi'-nʸ'NUˣqwɪp·ïγa‘* started to walk; *paγᵉi'-q·wa'ᵃ* go away; *paγï'n·a-ŋwïnɪ-p·aγï-Yï* cloud stands up and walks (sixth and seventh syllables)
-γi- durative iterative suffix	*qU‘pa'ra·γɛiḵ·ai‘* several pop one after another
tcaq·i- to stop (rolling)	*tcAˣqa'ip·ïγa‘* stopped rolling; *tcAˣqï'yïaq·A* it stops
tsɪŋwaχɪ- to stick in several (e. g. in *tsɪŋwa'x·ɪḵaiyïam‘* they are stuck in)	*tsɪtsɪ'ŋwaχaimɪpïγainɪ‘* all kept on as though stuck; *tsɪtsɪŋwaχᵃi'-p·ïγain·ɪ‘* all went in as though stuck; *tsɪŋwa'xïⁱ‘* sticks several in
mam·a'ᵃcaγwi- old woman	*mam·a''ᵃcaγwɔits·*, *-caγwᵒits·* old woman
tɔγi-, *tɔγwi-* just, precisely	*tɔγɔ'iaruq·wa·x·ɪ* right under it; *tɔγɔ'it·uγwanU* midnight

tɔγɔ'i- not infrequently even loses its *i* and appears as *tɔγɔ'-* (e. g. *tɔγɔ'mA‘cüŋwɪYU* TEN), but such recorded forms as *tɔγʷɪ'aŋaruq·WA* RIGHT UNDER HIM and *tɔγᵒi'm·ava'anA* RIGHT ABOVE THAT prove clearly that the second *ɔ* is inorganic.

(b) *Dulling to i, ï.* After *ts*, *i* is regularly dulled to *i*, a high unrounded "mixed" vowel (to use Sweet's terminology) that sounds acoustically midway between *ɪ* and *ï*. It has been often recorded simply as *ɪ*, sometimes also, though exaggeratedly, as *ï*. Examples are:

-tsɪ- diminutive	*tɪŋqa'nɪvïatsïaφï* his own little cave (obj.)

-tsɪ- gerund	*pAˣqa'ŋʊtsi'ɪŋwA* having killed him; *pi̯n·ɪ'avɪva·tsi'q·wA* being about to lie down and watch it
tsɪ- with the point of a stick-like object	*tsiyu'm'muχwɪyïnɪ* is poking me; *tsï'nɪ'k·ɪpï'γa'* stuck (one object)

More rarely *i* is gutturalized to *ï*, *i* after guttural consonants (*q*, *γ*, *x*, *ŋq*), cf. (a) above:

-xɪ- to come in order to	*tɔna'xïyïaŋA* he comes to punch
-q·ɪ- hither	*ya·'q·ïyaq·A* bring it
waq·ɪ- hither + *-ŋki-* to come	*wAˣqi'ŋkiχuαŋA* as he came

(c) *Consonantizing before nasals.* When standing before *n* or *ŋ* and coming after *ts* (sometimes modified to *t·*, see §13, 7, a), less often after *q*, *i* not infrequently loses its vocalic character altogether and assimilates to the following nasal, becoming syllabic *n̯* or *ŋ̯* (cf. English *kα'zn̯* from *cousin*):

-tsɪ- gerundive + *-ni-* I	*qa·'va·tsn̯nɪ* being about to sing, I
-tsɪ- diminutive + *-ni-* my	*wɪ'tsɪ't·n̯nɪ* my great-grandchild

(d) *Consonantizing to y.* Rather infrequently the combination *i* + vowel, via *i* + glide *y* + vowel, simplifies to *y* + vowel, e. g.:

i(y)ä'nu- present here	*yä'nu-*

compare *u(w)a'nu-* PRESENT THERE > *wa'nu-* (see 5, a).

(3) MODIFICATIONS OF *ï*:

(a) *Assimilation to i.* Not too frequently an *ï* is assimilated to the *i* of a following syllable or, as *i*, to an immediately following *y*. Long *ï·* is then apt to dissolve to *ïi*, *ïⁱ*. Examples are:

tï'ŋwï- to be in a hurry	*tï'ŋwɪn·ɪ'* hurriedly
qwïï- to take	*qwï'qwï''ï'* takes several times (< *qwïq·wï''ï-yï-*)
-mï·- after	*ɥnɪ'k̲·aɥumïⁱts·* after they had done so (< *-mï·tsi-*)
ïvʷï- hortatory adverb	*ïvʷï'n·ɪa'ª* hurry up thou!
	ïvʷï'yanɪ go ahead ye me! (contrast *ïvʷï'nɪ* go ahead thou me!)

tïŋwɪ-n·ɪa-, *ïvʷi-n·ɪa-* and *ïvʷi-ya-* regularly so appear, never with second *ï*, *ï*.

(b) *Palatalization to i, ɪ.* After *c* and *tc*, *ï* often loses its extreme backward articulation, passing into *i* and even (at least so frequently recorded) *ɪ*. This secondary *ɪ*, however, must never be confused with primary *i*, *ɪ*; unlike it, e. g., it cannot palatalize guttural or dental consonants (see § 13, 4; § 13, 3). Examples are:

cïnaŋwavi- coyote	*cina'ŋwaφɪ, cɪna'ŋwaφɪ* coyote
watcï- to put	*watcɪ'm'mɪap·ïγa'* (he) put while going along
pitcï- to arrive	*pɪ'pɪ'tcɪʀï* arriving

Note, e. g., that if the *-tcɪ-* of the last form were primary, not modified from *-tcï-*, it would have changed the participial *-ʀï* to *-tcï* (see § 13, 3).

Dental consonants (*t, r, nt, n*) also frequently modify an immediately following *ï* to *i*, *ɪ*. Indeed an *i* or *ɪ* following *t*, *r*, or *nt* is practically always modified from an original *ï*, as an old primary *i* has regularly assibilated these consonants (see § 13, 3). Examples are:

nïŋwï''a- part of body	*nɪŋwï''a(i)ya·ŋA* parts of his body (obj.)
tïq·a- to eat	*tɪ'tɪ'q·a(i)yïnɪ* I eat several times
marïn·a- to chase	*mam·a'rɪnap·ïγa'aiŋwA* several chased him

Less frequently *yï* becomes modified to *yi*, *yɪ*; e. g. *pa(i)yï-* TO RETURN > *pa(i)yi-*, *pa(i)yɪ-*. As might be expected from its position, *ï* is best preserved after guttural consonants, e. g. *paγï'* FISH.

(c) *Dulling to ï.* If *ï* is frequently recorded by students as an obscure *ü*, the nuance *ï* tends to be heard as an obscure *ö*. It is possible, indeed, that *ï* is pronounced with slight inner rounding, as it appears chiefly in labial surroundings. It is a "wide" vowel, *ï* being "narrow"; it is probably also slightly lower in articulation than *ï*. Though *ï* is a difficult vowel to define, it represents a nuance clearly distinct from that of *ï*. Acoustically it may be described as a duller form of *ï*, tending to be heard both as *u* and *α*.

After labial consonants (*p, v, mp, m*; less often *w*) the change of *ï* to *ï* is regular, less regularly before them:

pï- relative pronoun	*pïv^{w}a'* wherein
-vï- one's own	*qanɪ'aφï* one's own house (obj.)
-mpï- plant suffix	*ɔγɔ'mpï* fir

mïyï- gopher
ïmpɪn'na- to paint

mi̯yï'ŋqanɪφï gopher house
ïmpɪ'n'naï' paints

Rarely *qwï* simplifies to *qï*:

qwï·(i)'nɪ-ɬ̠·ai- to strut out one's breast

qï·'(i)'ɴɪˣɬ̠aaï' struts out (his) breast

This is analogous to the change of *qwa* to *qwɔ*, *qɔ* (see 1, c).

(d) *Labialization.* When coming before a nasal consonant followed by a labial consonant or vowel (e. g. *mp*, *ŋw*, *ŋu*), *ï*, in its frontal modification *i*, is further developed to a corresponding slightly rounded vowel *ü*, acoustically midway between *i* and the true high-front-rounded *ü*. Our *ü* is probably only inner-rounded and not articulated as far front as the standard *ü*; often it sounds like a rapid diphthongal *iʊ* or *iʊ̈*. Examples are:

tïmpa- mouth
patcï- daughter
mïa·'γantï- mountain divide

pa(i)yï- to return
tï- stone (e. g. in *tiŋqa'nɪ*, *tɪŋqa'nɪ* cave)

tümpa'nɪ my mouth
patcü'ŋwïaŋᴀ his daughters
mïa·'γantümpa' at mountain divide

pa(i)yü'ŋᴜpïγa' returned
tümpi'ts· stone

A somewhat similar quality, yet slightly more rounded and retracted, probably equivalent to the standard *ʊ* (high-mixed-rounded-wide), sometimes develops from *ï* (see c above) before nasal + guttural or labial or before nasal + *i*:

pïŋqa- habitually
pï- relative pronoun
pïn·i- to see

pʊŋqa- habitually
pʊŋwa'ntux·wᴀ on whom
pʊn·i'p·ïγa' saw

This quality was generally recorded as simply *ü* (too far front) or *ï* (too far back). For practical purposes *ï* does well enough.

A still stronger degree of labialization is attained by *ï* when it stands before v^w or *ŋw*. This quality has been generally recorded as *u*, i. e. *ʊ*, but it is rather flabbier in sound than the true rounded open *u* (varying with *o*). Examples are:

am·ï- they
ma·vï- clothes

am·u'v^w'antux·wᴀ upon them
ma·'v'uŋwᴀ his clothes

The same modification occurs in *ŋwï*, which frequently loses its *w* (cf. 1, c; 3, c), before *ŋw* or *m*:

-ŋwï animate plural	*a'ivaiaŋuŋwa'aiφï* with his own companions; *naγï'm·aŋuŋuc·u* strangers-to-each-other you (pl.) (< *naγïm·a-ŋwï-ŋwï-c·u-*)
-ŋwï- you (pl.) subjective	*-ŋumi-* you (pl.) objective (< *-ŋwï-mi-*)

(e) *Assimilation to ɔ.* This and the following modification (f) differ from the labializations spoken of under (d) in that they represent complete and regularly occurring assimilations. Before a syllable containing *ɔ*, *ï* appears assimilated to *ɔ*:

wïγï- vulva + *ɔ'paq·ï-* *nA* hole	*wïγɔ'ɔ'paq·ïnA* vagina
qarï'n·ïmpï- saddle + *tɔ'tsi-* head	*qarï'n·ïmpɔʀɔtsiɑ'* saddle horn

Less regularly *ï* is assimilated to a preceding *ɔ*:

-nïmɪ our (exclusive)	*aγɔ'nɔmɪ* our tongue

(f) *Assimilation to u (o).* Before a syllable containing *u (o)*, *ï* assimilates to *u (o)*:

tïγɪavï- deer hide	*tïγɪ'avuru-* to make a deer hide
cuwa'p·ɪtcï- to wake up (intr.)	*cuwa'p·ɪtcuɬ·ui-* to wake up (tr.)
am·ï- they	*am·u''ura'* towards them; *am·v·'wɑ'mɪ* in front of them (< *am·ï-* + *-uwa'mi-*)
-yï- present tense + *-ru'a-* interrogative	*puwa'ru'a(i)yuru'ɑnɪ* am I becoming a medicine-man?

This assimilation takes place also after a syllable containing *u (o)*:

-ru to make + *-yï-* present tense	*a(i)ya'ruyunɪ* I make a turtle
-γïm·aŋwɪt·uγwa- away from	*uγu'm·aŋwɪt·ux·wA* away from it
-yï- + *-n·oa-* modal enclitic	*uwa't·uγwat·u'a(i)yon·oA* somebody is walking in that direction

Only infrequently does *ï* fail to assimilate to *u*. This seems to occur sometimes when a glottal stop separates the vowels, e. g.

nï'u'nantux·wA OPPOSITE TO ME; *yï'u-*, *yɪ'u-* LEG, more often *yu'u-*, *yo'o-*.

(g) *Consonantizing before nasals.* This takes place, though less frequently, under the same circumstances as the analogous consonantizing of *i* (see 2, c above), but after a *c*:

'ac·ïntu'i- to like *'α'c·ɳtu'i-* to like

(4) MODIFICATIONS OF *ɔ*:

(a) *Semi-unrounding.* Between two *a*-vowels an *ɔ* is sometimes semi-unrounded and dulled in quality to a sound approximating that of *a* itself. This quality appears to be identical with that of the *ω* referred to above (1, c). Examples are:

-ɔaγɪt·uγwa- around *aω'aγɪt·ux·WA* around it
ɔa- back *pɪᶻk̡a'ωaγaip·ïγa'* had a sore back

(b) *Palatalization.* Rather infrequently we find *ɔ* palatalized or "umlauted" to a true *ö* (mid-front-rounded, probably "wide") after *y*:

(i)yɔvi- mourning dove *(i)yö'vɪtcuA'tsɪŋWï* little mourning doves

In Ute *ö* (both wide and narrow varieties) is found as the regular correspondent of Southern Paiute *ɔ* (e. g. Ute *öä'φɪ* SALT: Southern Paiute *ɔa'φɪ*).

(c) *Assimilation to u.* Sporadically *ɔ* is assimilated to an *u* of the following syllable:

pɔrɔ- several travel *pɔru'q·UpïγA'* several started out

The compound form *-puru-*, like certain other examples of *ɔ-u* alternation, belongs rather to vocalic "ablaut" than to the purely phonetic phenomena here discussed (see § 17, 7, a).

(5) MODIFICATIONS OF *u* (alternating with *o*):

(a) *Consonantizing to w.* Passage into the corresponding semivowel *w*, when standing before a vowel, sometimes takes place:

u- demonstrative stem *w'a'xava·'q·WA* into it
ui-ŋwa-γantï-, oi-ŋwa-γantï- canyon *wɪ'ŋwaγantïmpaŋWI* in a canyon

(b) *Assimilation to ɪ.* An unaccented *u* is rarely assimilated to an *i*, *ɪ* of the following syllable:

-c·u- enclitic element "also" *ɥmʷu'RUˣqwa·γɪt·uαc·ɪn·ɪ'* as though under them too
(*-c·un·ɪ'* was also recorded)

(c) *Unrounding to ï.* An unrounded *u*, i. e. *ï*, sometimes develops after *iy* or before *y*, also quite frequently immediately before *i*. This secondary *ï* may be further developed to *i*, *ɪ* (see 3, b). Examples are:

tsɪ- with the point of a stick + *yum'mu-* to poke	*tsï'(y)i'm·uχwɪp·ïγaiyaŋA* kept poking him
-c·uyaγwa-n·oa- would that	*-c·ïyaγwa-(-c·iyaγwa-, -c·ɪyaγwa)n·oa-*
-t·ui- causative suffix	*pïnɪ'ṫ·uk̟·aʻ* caused to see
kwɪt·u- anus + *yɔγɔ-* to copulate with	*kwɪ'tï'ɪɔγɔt·ïʻ* anus-copulating place, passive pederast

(d) *Assimilation to ï.* Between two *ï-* vowels, *u* is rarely assimilated to *ï* (*ü*):

ta·''ï- shirt + *-ru-* to make	*ta·''ïrüŋqïpïγaiAˣqaaŋA* made it into a shirt for him

(e) *Opening to ɔ.* Before, less frequently after, an *a*, *u* is sometimes broadened out to an open *ɔ*:

ua- demonstrative + *-ya-* objective	*'ɔa'iA* modal adverb
-ru'a- interrogative	*ivi'ŋuntcar'ɔanɪ* did I take a drink?
-'urai- toward	*aŋa''ɔraɪ'pïγaʻ* went towards him
moγoa- soul	*mɔγɔ'aφɪ* soul

As the last example shows, two successive *o-* vowels both tend to develop to *ɔ* when one of them is so modified (cf. f).

An original *u* (*o*) tends to become opened to *ɔ* before and after *-γ-*. This is particularly true of the group *-uγu-* (*-oγo-*), which seems to develop regularly to *-ɔγɔ-*; e. g. *yɔγɔ-* TO COPULATE WITH, *tɔγɔ'aφɪ* RATTLESNAKE. Sometimes comparison with Ute, in which primary *ɔ* appears as *ö* (Ute *ɔ* is an open form of *u*, *o*), is necessary in such cases to determine whether Paiute *ɔ* is primary or developed from *o*.

(f) *Assimilation to ɔ.* An *u* (*o*)- vowel assimilates to *ɔ* before a syllable containing *ɔ*:

to·- black	*tɔ·''ɔvan'naŋqA* black goose; *tɔ·'p·ɔ'tɔn'ɪᶻk̟anẗin·ɪʻ* like something black and spherical
kwɪt·u- buttocks + *ɔp·aq·ïp·i-* hole	*kwɪ'tɔ'ɔ'paq·ïp·ɪ* anus

Infrequently *u* is assimilated to *ɔ* by the *ɔ* of a preceding syllable (contrast 4, c):

man·ɔ- all + *-q·u-* objective — *man·ɔ'q·(w)ɔ-* (also heard as *man·ɔ'q·u-*)

(g) *Consonantizing before nasals.* Infrequently *u* loses its vocalic nature when standing between *q* and *ŋ*, appearing as syllabic *ŋ* (cf. 2, c; 3, g):

-q·u- subordinating suffix + *-ŋumi-* you (pl. obj.) — *yö'vɪtcuʌtsɪγa·q·ŋŋumɪ* being-a-little-mourning-dove you (pl. obj.)

§ 4. *Quantitative Vocalic Changes.*

(1) VOCALIC CONTRACTION. Long, less often short, vowels sometimes result from the contraction of two short vowels or of a long and a short vowel. The vowels may be either of the same or of different qualities. We shall take up the examples according to the quality of the resulting product.

(a) *Vowels contracting to a·* (*a*). The most common source of a contracted *a·* is *a* + *a*:

-ntcu'a- interrogative + *aŋa-* he — *a'intcu'a·ŋʌ* that-inter.- he
-ntcu'a- + *-aq·a-* it — *imi'ntcu'a·q·ʌ* thou-inter.- it
-ya- objective + *-aŋa-* his — *tümpa'(i)ya·ŋʌ* his mouth (obj.)
-xwa- preterit suffix + *-aŋa-* — *ya'a'ixwa·ŋʌ* he died
-n·a- verbal noun suffix + *-aŋa-* — *ɔra'n·a·ŋʌ* which he dug up
-mɪ(y)a- usitative + *-aq·a-* it — *nʌ'cï'mʷïamɪya·q·ʌ* keeps forgetting it

Less commonly *a·* results from *a·* + *a*:

-mpa·- future + *aŋa-* he — *pʌˣqa'ŋqïŋumpa·ŋ'am·ɪnɪ* he will kill thee for me
qa·- to sing + *-aq·a-* imperative enclitic — *qa·'q·ʌ* sing!

Often, but not necessarily, *aï* contracts to *a·*:

tümpa- mouth + *ïγap·ï-* what enters — *tümpa·'γap·ï* bit and bridle
paï- perfectly — *pa·'ŋqwɪ'ɔq·ɔitcï* perfectly round and hollow

Also *ïa* is not infrequently heard as *a·*, *a*:

-ŋwï- animate plural + *-a-* objective	*-ŋwa-*, *-ŋwa·-*
-yï- present tense + *-aŋa-* he	*-ya·ŋA*
-ŋqï- indirective + *-a'p·a-* negative	*kɪɛ'ŋqa·'p·A* don't laugh!

An *au*, itself usually contracted from *a* + *u* (see b), is sometimes further contracted to *a·* before *qw*, *ŋw*, or *p* the labial vowel *u* being absorbed, as it were, into the following labialized consonant but leaving its quantitative value behind in the lengthening of the preceding *a*. Examples are:

na-uŋwai- to hang oneself	*na·'ŋwaiχwa'ai'ⁱ* go hang thyself!
nïvʷa-uŋwa- to snow	*nïvʷa·'ŋwap·ïγaʿ* it snowed
nauq·wiŋqï- to fight (< *na-γuq·wi-ŋqï-*, see § 13, 5, b)	*na·'q·wɪŋqï-*

(b) *Vowels contracting to ai, au.* This results when organically distinct *a* and *i*, or *u*, combine:

quna- fire + *-i'ni-* possessed	*quna'i'niaraŋwA* our (inclus.) fire (obj.)
ma- that + *-up·a'-* in (such a) way	*ma'up̣·a'ᵃ* in that way

A long *a·* + *i* also contracts to *ai*. This is because organically long diphthongs are not allowed in Southern Paiute. E. g.:

cïʿpu'vʷa·- cold water + *-in'ni-* possessed	*cïʿpu'vʷ'ain·ɪntsɪχaim·ɪʿ* is wont to have cold water

Apparently *a·* + *u* (*o*), however, remains as disyllabic *a·-u*, e. g.:

qava·- horse + *-up̣·anɪa-* like	*qava·'op̣·anɪanɪ* I (am) like a horse

Had *qavau-* resulted, the above form would have been *qava'ʊp̣anɪanɪ* (see § § 8, 2, a; 10, 1).

(c) *Vowels contracting to i, ɪ; i·.* The *ïi*, *ɪɪ*, *ɪ* which sometimes results from an original *ui* (see § 3, 5, c) is sometimes heard still further reduced to *ɪ*:

-t·ui- causative suffix	*na'a'it̠·ɪp·ïγaʿ* made a fire
-r'ui- to become	*tuγwa'r'ɪŋʊpïγaʿ* it got dark

Rarely *yï* advances beyond *yi*, *yɪ* (see § 3, 3, b) to contracted *i*:

-ŋqï- indirective + *-yï-* present tense — *tʊˣqwɪ''aiŋqïir'ɔn'ɪ'ⁱ* art thou ashamed of me?

A long *i·*, not infrequently heard simply as *i*, *ɪ*, appears as a contracted product of *i* + *i*:

qï·vi- locust + *-in'i-* possessed — *qï·'vɪn'ɪnI* my locust
qani- house + *-i'ni-* possessed — *qani''nɪnI* my house

(d) *Vowels contracting to ï·, ï.* A contracted *ï·* sometimes results from *ï* + *ï*, itself sometimes reduced from *ïγï* (see § 13, 5, b):

ïïγïvʷï- friend — *ïï·'vʷïa·ŋA* his friend (obj.)

Rarely does *ï* result from *ï* + *u*, which normally gives *v·* < *u* + *u*:

nï- *I* + *-u(w)a'mi-* in front of — *nï'wɑ'mI* in front of me

(e) *Vowels contracting to ïi.* This diphthong sometimes results from *ï* + *i*, *ï·* + *i*, or *ïγi* (for loss of *γ*, see § 13, 5, b):

cv·γï·- sugar + *-i'ni-* possessed — *cv·'χïi'ninI* my sugar
ïïγɪa- deer — *ïï'iaRUquaɸI* deer meat; *pa-rï'ia-* elk (lit., water-deer)

(f) *Vowels contracting to ɔ·, ɔ.* The contracted product *ɔ·* results from either *ɔ* + *ɔ*, assimilated from *u* + *ɔ* (see § 3, 5, f):

u- demonstrative stem + *-ɔaγɪt·uγwa-* around — *ɔ·'aγɪt·ux·WA* around it

or from *ɔ·* + *u*:

pɔ·- trail + *-up·a'* through — *pɔ·'p·a'ᵃ* through the trail

Ordinarily, however, the *u* in the latter case keeps its distinctiveness, e. g. *pɔ·'ᶻʊpa'ᵃ* THROUGH THE TRAIL.

The *ɔa*, *ɔa·* which sometimes appears as a broadened form of original *ua* (*oa*), *ua·* (*oa·*) (see § 3, 5, e) appears also contracted to *ɔ*, *ɔ·*:

-r'ua- interrogative — *pua'r'uava·r'ɔn·ɪχain·ɪ'* it looks as though I shall become a medicine-man

-r'ua- + *-aŋa-* he — *ya'a'iva·n·ɪar'ɔ·ŋaxain·ɪ'* it looks as though he will die

u(w)anu- yonder + *-aŋa-* — *u(w)a'nɔŋA* up there he

(g) *Vowels contracting to ɔi.* This diphthong sometimes results from $ɔ + i$ or $ɔ· + i$, $ɔ$ being itself sometimes a broadened form of u after a (see § 3, 5, e):

pɔ·- trail + *-in'ni-* possessed	*pɔ(·)ɔ'in'ninɪ* my trail (for *ɔ·ɔ* <*ɔ·* see 2, b below)
purau- flour + *-in'ni-*	*pura'ɔin'ninɪ* my flour

(h) *Vowels contracting to o·, v·.* The $u + u$ that is frequently found contracted to *o·* (*v·*) is either primary or assimilated from $ï + u$ (see § 3, 3, f). Examples are:

um^{w}u- they (invisible) + *-u(w)-* *a'mi-* in front of	*um^{w}ṿ·'^{w}α'mɪ* in front of them
amï- they (visible) + *-u(w)a'mi-*	*amo·'wa'mɪ* in front of them
nam·ï- first + *uv^{w}it·u-* to sing a song	*nam·o·'v^{w}it·ʊ'pïγa'* sang the first song

(i) *Vowels contracting to ui.* This diphthong sometimes results from $u + i$ or *v·* (*o·*) + *i*:

tuγ(w)v·- to cache + *-in'ni-* possessed	*tuγ(w)v(·)'in'ninɪ* my cached things

(2) VOCALIC LENGTHENING. Several phonetic phenomena may be conveniently grouped under this head.

(a) *Secondary lengthening.* Very characteristic of Southern Paiute, as contrasted with Ute, is the secondary lengthening of organically short vowels. This seems to take place, strangely enough, more often in unaccented than in accented syllables; it occurs with particular frequency in initial syllables, though found also medially. The lengthening has neither morphological nor mora-determining (§ 9) significance. Where advisable to indicate its inorganic character, the mark of length is enclosed in parentheses, e. g. *a(·)*. Examples are:

ma- that	*ma(·)va'aiʏu* from there
piŋwa- wife	*pi(·^{i})ŋwa'nɪ* my wife
qura- neck	*qu(·)ra'(i)ya·ŋᴀ* his neck (obj.)
tuγwa- night	*tv(·)γwa'vaɪ'* through the night
ɔa·- back + *-va'na-* on	*ɔ(·)'a·va(·)'nɑ̈nɪ* on my back
ta- with the feet	*nïv^{w}a't·a(·)maγa·p·ïγa'* went out to test depth of snow with the feet

-vaŋwi- in	*qanɪ'va(·)ŋwɪt·umanaŋqwA* out from inside the house

That, to take the last two examples, we are really dealing with organic *ta-* and *-vaŋwi-* respectively, is proved not only by the testimony of the overwhelming preponderance of *ta-* and *-vaŋwi-* in other forms but also by the treatment, as regards unvoicing, of the vowels following the *a*(·). A primary two-moraed *a·* would have demanded the incorrect forms: **nïv^{w}a't·a·maγaA'pïγa'* and **qanɪ'va·ŋwɪtumanaŋqwA* (see § 10, 1).

(b) *Pseudo-diphthongal or -triphthongal treatment of long vowels (and diphthongs).* Any long vowel, less frequently secondarily lengthened vowel, may be pseudo-diphthongized, i. e. weakly rearticulated: $a^{\cdot a}$, $i^{\cdot i}$, $ï^{\cdot ï}$, $v^{\cdot u}$ ($o^{\cdot u}$, $o^{\cdot o}$), $ɔ^{\cdot ɔ}$. Examples will meet us frequently, so none need be listed here. All organically long vowels, whether resulting from contraction or not, may be broken up into two short vowels or even a short and a long vowel or a long and a short vowel; e. g. organic *a·*, $a^{\cdot a}$ may be further heard diphthongized to *aa*, *aa·*, *a·a*. Throughout *aa* and *a·* are to be considered as phonetic equivalents, similarly for other vowels (e. g. *yï·'* or *yïï'* DOORWAY). Examples of broken-up long vowels are:

-tca- preterit tense + *-aŋa-* he, him	*tɔna'ť·uɑtcaaŋanoA* some one struck him; *ovi'ntɪ'qaŋ'wɪntca-a·ŋA* he turned into wood
qv·p·aŋa- to spill water out of the mouth	*quv·'p·aŋap·ïγa'aik·wA* (he) let it spill out of (his) mouth

Analogously, organic diphthongs may be pseudo-triphthongized; e. g. *ai* > *aai*, *ɔi* > *ɔɔi*, *au* > *aau*. Even secondary lengthening of the first vowel is sometimes found: *ɔ*(·)*ɔi* < *ɔi*. Examples of pseudo-triphthongs are:

-pïγai- remote past	*sɔtsɪ'ŋUpïγaaic·U* again peeped out
-'urai- towards	*aŋa''uraaic·U* towards him again
qɔi'na·- several fall down	*qɔɔ'i'na·p·ïγa'* (line) fell right down
pɔi- chest	*pɔɔ'iɸI*, *pɔ·ɔ'iɸI* chest
yauq·wi- (sun) sets	*yaa'uq·winA* setting

(c) *Rhetorical lengthening of vowels.* Final vowels, instead of being elided (see § 7, 1) or unvoiced (see § 8, 1, a), are sometimes,

for reasons of rhetorical emphasis, lengthened and generally followed by a glottal stop:

i'ŋA this one	*iŋa·'ᵃ* this one
u'mA with it	*ɥmʷa·'ᵃ*
kwɪ'tu'nɪ my anus	*kwɪ'tun·i·'ⁱ*
-n·ɪ(y)a- like	*cɨ̈na'ŋwa(·)vn·ɪya·'ᵃ* like coyote
iva'ŋwɪ in here	*ivaŋwɻ·'ⁱ*
tv·'p·(w)ɪ̈, *tv·'p·(w)ɪ* personal name	*tv·p·ʷɨ̈·'*, *tv·p·i·'* (vocative)

A final *-a'ᵃ* is also sometimes rhetorically lengthened to *-a'a·*:

ᵘmʷa'ɪcampa'ᵃ that only thou	*ᵘmʷa'ɪcampa'a·'* enough for thee! shut up!

Medial vowels are also sometimes lengthened for rhetorical reasons:

qa'tcU not	*qa·'tcU* not so!
u(w)a'nU yonder	*uwɛ'* + *nU* way over there

§ 5. *Glide Vowels.*

Inorganic vowels frequently develop as glides before certain consonants. These glides are often heard as full vowels, sometimes as very weak vowels that may be appropriately written as superiors. It will be convenient sometimes, to avoid ambiguity, to indicate the glide by means of a parenthesis. The *a* and *ɔ* which appear as glides before *i* after a guttural consonant preceded by *a* or *ɔ* have been already spoken of (see § 3, 2, a).

(1) Glide *i̯*. This appears very frequently, one might almost say regularly, before *y* after all vowels but *i* itself. The resulting diphthong, however, always sounds briefer, less sustained, than the organic *i-* diphthong; it does not count as two morae (see § 9) nor can it be pseudo-triphthongized (see § 4, 2, b). Examples are:

na-yaṗ·a·- to appear, look like	*na(i)ya'ṗ·a·ŋUpɨ̈γa'* appeared
put·cutcuγwa- to know + *-yɨ-* present tense	*pU'tcu'tcuγwa(i)'yɪq·wA* knows it
payɨ- to return	*pa(i)yü'ŋUpɨ̈γa'* returned
ap·ɨ̈i-ŋu- to fall asleep	*A'pɨ̈'iŋɨ̈(i)yɨ̈aŋA* he is falling asleep

In the last example the *u* of *-ŋu-* is unrounded before the glide *i* (see § 3, 5, c).

Here belongs also the not too common appearance of an *i-* glide after *ï* (*ĭ*) or *ɔ* before a syllable with *i* (chiefly before *-ni-* or *-tsɪ-*); cf. the occasional assimilation of *ï* to a following *i* (§ 3, 3, a). Examples are:

pïnɪ- to see	*pï^{i}nɪ'k̟·aip·ïγa^{ʻ}* saw
mi(y)ɔ- at a distance + *-tsɪ-* diminutive	*miyɔ''^{i}tsɪ-* at a little distance

(2) GLIDE *u*. This glide sometimes appears after *a* before labialized spirants or nasals (*γw, xw, ŋw*); before *-γu-, -xu-*; and before *-vï*. It also appears after *ï* before *v*. The *u-* diphthong resulting is inorganic (cf. above under 1). Examples are:

qava- horse + *-γwac·ɪ-* tail	*qava'(u)xwA^{ʻ}cɪväïx·U* horse-tail hair
uŋwa- he + *-ŋwantuγwa-* from *-vaŋwi-* in	*uŋwq'(u)ŋwantux·WA* from him *uv^{w}q'(ų)ŋwɪtï^{ʻ}* being in it (obj.); *qanɪ'va(au)ŋwI* in the house (*aa* < *a·* < *a*, see § 4, 2, a)
ampaγa- to talk + *-γu-*, subordinating suffix	*ampa'γa(u)x·U* while talking
-ya-, -ia- objective + *-ϕï* one's own < *-vï-*	*pA^{ʻ}tca'ia(u)ϕï* his own moccasins (obj.)
nï- I + *-va-* at > *-ϕA*	*nɪ'(u)ϕA* at me
tïva- pine-nut	*tï'(u)ϕA* pine-nut

(3) PROTHETIC *u-*. Before an initial labialized *m* (*m^{w}*, see § 14, 3, b) a prothetic *u*, ^{u} is frequently found:

m^{w}a- that	*(u)m^{w}α'nI*, ^{u}*m^{w}α'nI* in that way; *(u)m^{w}a'RĭI*, ^{u}*m^{w}a'RĭI* that (inanimate)

§ 6. *Nasalization of Vowels.*

Nasalized vowels are fairly frequent in Southern Paiute, less so than in Ute. They arise from two entirely distinct sources. They are either reduced forms of vowels + *ŋ*; or they are due to the assimilating influence of an immediately preceding or following nasal consonant.

(1) NASALIZATION AS REDUCED FORM OF *ŋ*. Reduction of vowel + *ŋ* to nasalized vowel occurs fairly often in rapid speech in Southern Paiute; far more frequently in Uintah Ute, where it tends to become the norm (particularly when the vowel is followed by *ŋw*); and regularly in Uncompahgre Ute, where *ŋ* does not occur at all. Examples are:

aŋa- he + *-ŋwantuγwa-* at

cïnaŋwavi- coyote
uŋwai- to hang
na- reflexive + *-uŋwai-*

ɋ·'ŋwantux·WA at him (*ɋ·* < *ɋ* + *a*)
cɪnɋ'waɸɪ coyote
ɥwa'iᶻx̂aiχwa'ᵃ go and hang!
nɋ·ᵃwa'ip·ïγa' hung himself (for loss of *u*, see § 4, 1, a)

(2) INORGANIC NASALIZATION. This occurs frequently before or after *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, or *ŋw*:

ɣ·'mai' yes
mïɻmɪ'ŋwɑntïï one of you
mɋ'ɻmɪŋ'wait·ï never saying that
cɻna'ŋwaɸɪ coyote
Uᶻqwɪ'ɥnɪ' like an arrow
mïɻnï'c·ɪpïγa' turned around
ɂ(·)nɔ't·A'cïaŋqU early in the morning
ɥ'ŋWA he (invisible)
pïɻŋqa'NUᶻqwiɻai' keeps calling on
paq''aŋWA his aunt (< *paa-* + *-'ŋwa-*)
NUᶻqwɪ'm'mɪɑɻi' runs along

(3) NASALIZED BREATH. A final or medial breath (including its development to *x*), generally representing the unvoicing of a vowel (see § 8), when following a nasal consonant or a nasalized vowel, is itself sometimes heard as nasalized (represented as ̥̃):

'ɑ̥̃ interjection of surprise
cɪmʷï'χ·qai'ɪmï left them (<*cïmʷɻa-*)

Sometimes the nasalized breath has definite vocalic timbre, is a voiceless nasalized vowel, in other words:

na(·)ɣi'aŋw ɑmɻ̥̃ mother-and-daughter they

Somewhat infrequently a final nasalized breath has been observed unpreceded by a nasal element. It is barely possible that this is

the remnant of a "nasalizing" force of the stem or grammatical element (see § 16, 3):

-va·-ⁿ at (e. g. *-va·ntï-* being at) *-vaˑ* at (more often heard as *-vaʿ*)

§ 7. *Elision of final vowels.*

Final vowels are never, except in poetry and in certain infrequent cases also in prose, preserved as such. They are either wholly or partly unvoiced (see § 8, 1), or else they are entirely elided or quantitatively reduced. The latter processes are operative before words beginning with a vowel (a glottal stop or breathing preceding an initial vowel does not take away from the vocalic beginning).

(1) ELISION OF FINAL SHORT VOWELS. A final short vowel of the ideally complete form of the word is lost, without qualitative or quantitative trace, before a word beginning with a vowel. A preceding consonant is syllabified directly with the beginning vowel of the next word; e. g. *aruγwa a'ip·ïγaʿ* TO-HIM SAID becomes *aruγw a'ip·ïγaʿ*, syllabified *a-ru-γwa'ip-pï-γaʿ*. Examples are:

-aq·a- it + *o'ᵘ* then	*ïvʷï'aq· o''ᵘ* go-ahead-it then!
qa'iva-ya- mountain (obj.)	*qa'ivay uru'q·WAtux·WA* towards the mountain
Wï'ʿcı'avıa- feathers (obj.)	*Wï'ʿcı'avı u'mA* on the feathers
paa'irami- our (dual inclus.) aunt + *uŋWA* animate singular article-pronoun	*paa'iram ųŋWA* our aunt
cına'ŋwavi- coyote	*cına'ŋwav avı'p·ïγaʿ* coyote was lying
aγa'n·i- in what way	*aγa'n· ani'ntcï* how doing
muru''i- blanket + *aRï* inanimate article- pronoun	*muru'' aRï* the blanket
ᵛi'tcï- this	*ᵛi'tc aro''amıʿ* this is wont to be
saγwa'χarï- being blue	*saγwa'χar uru''ap·ïγaʿ* was blue
-yï- present tense + *a'ïφI* now	*puŋ'wi'ŋqïy a'ïφI* makes a peeping noise now
-c·u- again	*a'ip·ïγaaic· imi'ntcux·WA* said again to thee

A final glottal stop protects the preceding vowel from elision, but the murmured echo which so often follows the glottal stop is, of course, elided before a following initial vowel:

-uṗ·a'(ª) through	*ma'uṗ·a' ɥnɪ'ŋuts·* through there then
ïv^{w}ï'(ᵗ) go ahead!	*ïv^{w}ï'' imɪ* go ahead thou!

Very rarely do forms turn up with elided vowel + glottal stop, the latter being then absorbed in a preceding consonant, e. g. *ma'uṗ· ɥnɪ'ŋuts·* THROUGH THERE THEN.

(2) REDUCTION OF FINAL LONG VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS. A final long vowel or a diphthong loses its second mora before a word beginning with a vowel, i. e. the long vowel is shortened, while the second vowel of the diphthong is lost without trace:

-va·- at	*mava' ɥnɪ'ŋuts·* there then
uq·wɪ'yv·- arrow	*Uᶻqwɪ'yu aʀï* the arrow
a'ip·ïγai- said	*a'ip·ïγa ɥm^{w}u'rux·WA* said to them
-q·ai- perfective	*ts·pi'ŋUqwa aŋa'v'antux·WA* has appeared on him (for *w* of *-qwa* see § 14, 3, c)

A final short vowel, reduced as above, may combine into a long with the vowel of like quality that begins the following word; e.g. *ts·pi'ŋUqwa·ªŋ'a'v'antux·WA.*

(3) RETENTION OF FINAL VOWELS. The above rules do not apply to monosyllables, which retain their second mora:

pa·- water	*pa·' aʀï* the water
o·- arrow	*o·' aʀï* the arrow
qwau- off, away	*qwau aγï'm·aŋwɪt·ux·WA* off away from it

Before *ai-*, *'ai-* TO SAY subjective independent personal pronouns keep their final vowel. There is probably some morphological reason back of this usage. Examples are:

imi- thou	*imi' 'aiɻ·A* thou sayest
nïm^{w}i- we (exclus.)	*ta·'ªmpïniyaŋw nɻm^{w}i' 'a'iɻ·amɪ'* we (excl.) are tired of what you (pl.) say

The same rule applies to subjective independent personal pronouns before *an·i'-ɻ·a-* TO DO, except that third personal pronouns (at least animate singulars) lose their final vowel and insert a glottal stop before the verb (cf. enclitic *-aŋa'ŋa-* < *-aŋa-* + *-aŋa-*, § 41, 1, e):

nïm^{w}i- we (exclus.) *nïm^{w}ι 'anι'k·A* we are doing

but:

m^{w}aŋa- that one (animate) *m^{w}α'ŋ 'ani'k·A* that one does

Apparently other final vowels are sometimes preserved before *an·i-k·a-*:

qatcu- not *qatcu an·ι'k·A*

Certain final vowels are protected from elision by taking on a glottal stop. This is true of nominal or independent pronominal subjects immediately followed by a substantive verb (see § 56), e. g.:

itcï- this *itcï'' 'aru''am·ι'* this is wont to be
na'a'intsιt·sι- little girl *na'a'ints·tsι' aru''a* a little girl it is
imi- thou *imi'' ɥwaru''a* thou art

With the last example contrast:

imia- (of) thee *imi 'uraru''a* it is thine

It is likely that here again we are not dealing with a purely phonetic phenomenon.

A protecting glottal stop is added also to the final *a* of the preterit enclitics *-γwa-* and *-(n)tca-* (see § 19), provided they are directly preceded by an independent personal pronoun and followed by a word beginning with a consonant, e.g.:

nï- I + *-γwa-* *nï'γwa' tɔ'nA* I punched
nïm^{w}i- we (excl.) + *-γwa-* *nɥm^{w}ι'χwa'a qa'tcU* we did not (pluck some of his feathers)
itcï- this + *-tca-* *ιtcï'tca'a pA'tca'n· aRï* these my moccasins have (worn out)
nï- I + *-ntca-* *nï'ntca' pι'pi'tcï* I have arrived

With these examples contrast:

an·ιa- what + *-γwa-* *an·ι'aχw a'ivï'* what did (he) say?
cïna'ŋwavi- coyote + *-tca-* *cïna'ŋwavitc uŋw o·'* coyote-did he break-wind
u(w)an·oyu- from over there + *-ntca-* *u(w)a'n·oyuntc paiyü'ŋU* returned from over there
nï- I + *ntca-* *nï'ntc ïγï'R pι'pi'tcï* I indeed arrived

(4) IRREGULARITIES. Very rarely do we find a final diphthong or long vowel completely elided:

-p·ïγai- remote past	*tï'ntɪˣqap·ïγ ɥwα'ŋwantï'* ate well from her; *a'ip·ïγ a'iɸʌputs·* said young man
uvʷa·- there	*v'+vʷ a'ip·ïγa'* "yonder," (he) said

A final *ŋw*, after elision of the originally following vowel, unites with an initial ' of the next word into *ŋ'w*:

anɪ'a-ŋwa- what he (inv.) + *'ai-* to say	*anɪ''aŋ'w a'imɪ'* what he is wont to say

§ 8. *Vocalic unvoicing.*

Vowels are unvoiced (indicated in our orthography by corresponding small capitals) in two circumstances: when final in absolute position or before a word beginning with a consonant (not including ' or '); and initially or medially under certain conditions to be defined below.

(1) UNVOICING IN FINAL POSITION. The final unvoicing may be either complete or partial, according to the nature of the final vowel and the element preceding it. We must distinguish between final short vowels and long vowels or diphthongs.

(a) *Treatment of short vowels.* A final completely unvoiced vowel always sounds distinctly breathy in quality and may, indeed, be appropriately defined as aspiration with the vocalic timbre of the originally voiced vowel. Very frequently the breath alone is heard, the timbre not being always distinctly perceptible; *i* and *u* are the clearest of the timbres, while unvoiced *a* and *ï* are not always easy to detect. Where the timbre of the voiceless vowel is obscure, a mere ' is used. A vowel or nasal (*m*, *n*, *ŋ*) preceding the unvoiced vowel remain unaffected, though often the latter part of the nasal is also voiceless. More rarely the nasal too is heard completely unvoiced. A stopped consonant (including *tc*) becomes a strongly aspirated surd (e. g. *-pi* > *-p'ɪ*, indicated more simply as *-pɪ*). After a *q·* or *ŋq*, the final breath is sometimes sharpened to a glide ˣ (e. g. *-aq·a-* > *-aq·ʌ*, *-aq·'* or *-aq·ˣʌ*, *-aq·ˣ*); after an anterior palatal *k̂·* or *ŋk̂*, this glide is palatalized to a ᶻ (as in German *ich*; e. g. *a'ik̂·a-* SEVERAL SAY > *a'ik̂·ʌ*, *a'ik̂·'* or *a'ik̂·ᶻʌ*, *a'ik̂·ᶻ*). Examples are:

-rĭ-a- participle (objective)	*qʊ'tca'q·arĭᴀ, -rĭ'* being light-gray (obj.)
-n·ɪa- numeral suffix	*ma(·)n·u'n·ɪᴀ, -n·ɪ'* all
mɔc·ɔa- pubic hair	*mɔ'cɔ'ᴀ* pubic hair
-ma- with	*a'mᴀ* with it
-ni- my	*qanɪ'nɪ, qanɪ'n'* my house
-na- verbal abstract noun suffix	*a'ik̟·ava·nᴀ, -va·n'* what (several) will say
-aŋa- his	*qanɪ'aŋᴀ, -aŋ'* his house
-ŋu- momentaneous suffix	*ivi'ŋʊ* to take a drink
-u(w)a'mi- in front of	*qanɪ'u(w)a'mɪ* in front of the house
-p·i- body-part suffix	*piyĭ'p·ɪ* heart
-ntĭ- participial	*uvʷa·'ᵃntĭ* being there
-q·a- plural subject	*tĭ'qa'q·ᴀ* several eat
pitcĭ- to arrive	*pi'tcĭ* to arrive

After spirants and rolled consonants (*v*; *s·*, *c·*; *γ*; *r*) the unvoiced vowel in turn unvoices the consonant, if not already unvoiced. It is itself not typically isolable as a separate element but appears generally as a definite vocalic timbre of the unvoiced spirant; i. e. such an orthography as *-c·ʊ* is to be interpreted as a long *c* with simultaneous lip-rounding as for *u*. However, the independent vocalic quality as subsequent to the consonant release is also frequently heard, e. g. in *-ɸɪ* < *-vi-*. Frequently the vocalic timbre is hardly perceptible. The unvoiced forms of *v*, *γ*, and *r* are respectively *ɸ*, *x*, and *ʀ*; final *-s*, *-c*, and *-x* are always long. A final *-tsɪ-* regularly becomes *-ts·*. Examples are:

-vi- body-part suffix	*taŋa'ɸɪ* knee
-va- at	*aŋa'ɸ(ᴀ)* at him
-vĭ- one's own	*qanɪ'a(u)ɸ(ĭ)* one's own house (obj.)
wara- edible seeds	*wa'ʀ(ᴀ)*
-ru- to make	*wana'ʀʊ* to make a rabbit-snare
-c·u- again	*a'ip·ĭγaaic·ʊ* said again
-v'a·γi- over	*qanɪ'v'a·x·ɪ* over the house
-γu- subordinating suffix	*tᴀ'ci'p·a(u)x·ʊ* when it was evening
-ntsɪ- nominal suffix	*nĭŋwĭ'nts·* man, Indian

After a glottal stop preceded by a vowel, a final vowel is only

partly reduced in voice. It does not lose its voice altogether but becomes a "murmured" vowel (indicated by superior vowels):

aru'a- to be	*nï' 'aru''ᵃ* I am
-t·u'i-	*tɔγɔ'qwɪtu'ⁱ* to cause to run
taq·wɪ·'o- roasting tray	*tᴀᶻqwɪ·''ᵒ*

Sometimes the murmured vowel is heard assimilated in quality to the vowel preceding the glottal stop:

aru'a- to be	*aru'ᵘ* (generally *aru'ᵃ*, *aru'ᵃ*)
ïvʷɪc·ɪ'a- to pay	*ïvʷɪ'c·ɪ'ⁱ*

If the word ends in a consonant + glottal stop + vowel (or, what amounts to the same thing, consonant + vowel + glottal stop; see § 15, 2), the final vowel appears fully voiced and followed by the glottal stop + a murmured rearticulation or "echo" of the vowel (cf. § 7, 1, end). Such syllables are two-moraed (see § 9). The "echo" is not always clearly perceptible. Examples are:

-n'nɪ- continuative suffix	*ɥnɪ'k̲·anɪ'ⁱ* several keep doing
paγa'ŋ'wɪ-nɪ my bowstring	*paγa'ŋwɪ'ⁱ* bowstring
-uṗ·a- through	*ma'up·a'ᵃ* through there

There is, however, a distinction in treatment between a glottal stop that belongs properly to the final syllable, as in the above examples, and one that, though it may actually appear in it, is not organically of it but belongs properly to some part of the word preceding the final syllable or is an accessory element (see § 15, 1). In the latter case, the final vowel is unvoiced (better, probably, whispered; cf. 2, a, end); indeed, a preceding nasal is in such cases apt to be more completely unvoiced (whispered) because of the presence of the glottal stop. Such syllables are one-moraed (see § 9). Examples are:

-n'na- momentaneous	*ts·k̲a'p·ɪn'NA* to cut something (cf. *ts·k̲a'vɪnA* to be cutting)
-'-mi- thy	*qanɪ''mI*, *-'MI* (more frequently *qa-nɪ''ɪmI*, see § 15, 2, a) thy house

(b) *Treatment of w + short vowel.* In words ending in a labialized consonant (*q·w*, *ŋqw*, *γw*, *ŋw*) + short vowel, both the *w* and the vowel are unvoiced (unvoiced *w* is indicated as *ẘ*). The preceding *q* then becomes aspirated, *γ* a lengthened *x*. Examples are:

ivi'y'ïq·wa- drinks it (inv.)	*ivi'y'ïq·wA*
pa·n·a'ŋqwa- down	*pa·n·a'ŋqwA*
-ruγwa- to	*ɥm^{w}u'rux·wA* to them
-raŋwa- our (incl. plur.)	*pivi'araŋwA* our mothers
-vaŋwi- in	*qani'vaŋwI* in the house
-ŋwï- animate plural	*nïŋwï'ntsiŋwï* men, Indians

(c) *Treatment of y + short vowel.* A final *y* + short vowel become unvoiced to *ʏ* + voiceless vowel (*ʏ* is much lighter than *ch* of German *ich*). Ordinarily, however, the *ʏ* becomes a mere breath merged in the following voiceless vowel. If the vowel preceding the *y* is *a*, *ɔ*, *ï*, or *u*, a clear *i* or ^{i} is generally heard as voiced glide. The timbre of the final vowel is least clear if reduced from *ï*; hence, final *-yï-* appears normally as *-i‘*, *-^{i}‘* after all vowels but *i*, after which merely *-‘* is ordinarily heard. Examples are:

-q·a- plural subject + *-ya-* plural imperative	*qa·'q·ai(ʏ)A, -q·ai‘* sing ye!
mi(y)ɔ- far off	*mi'(ʏ)ɔ*
-'axava(i)yu- in among	*^{a}'a'xavaiʏU* in it
co·-yu- the other one	*co·'ʏU*
-m'mɪa- moving along + *-yï-* present tense	*pɔ·'yam'mɪa^{i}‘* runs along
-ŋu- momentaneous + *-yï-*	*ivi'ŋui‘* takes a drink
-t·ï·- passive + *-yï-*	*ivi't·uiŋUtï·^{i}‘* is caused to drink
pitcï-, pitcɪ- to arive + *-yï-*	*pitcɪ'^{i}‘* arrives; *cu(w)a'- p·itci‘* wakes up (lit., nearly arrives)
pa'an·i- to be high + *-yï-*	*pa'a'n·i‘* is high

A long *a·* or an *ai* before final *y* + vowel (and, indeed, before *y* + vowel generally) are practically indistinguishable phonetically, owing to the *i-* glide after *a·* and the tendency of *a·* and *ai* to break up into *aa* and *aai* respectively (see § § 5, 1; 4, 2, b). Both appear as *aai*, *a·i*, or, very characteristically before final *y* + vowel, as *a.i*, a true diphthong in which the *a* and *i* melt lazily into each other. Hence a final *-ai‘* < *-a(i)-yï-* is acoustically quite distinct from *-ai‘*, *-a.i‘* < *-a·-yï-* or *-ai-yï-*; the former *-ai‘* is sharp, the latter somewhat languishing in character, though not necessarily so long as to deserve the orthography *-a·i‘*. Examples are:

pa·- water + *-ya-* objective	*paa'iA, paa'i‘, pa'.i‘*
pai- three + *-yu-* numeral suffix	*paa'iʏU, pa'ai‘, pa'.i‘*
tavai- to set fire to brush + *-yï-*	*tava·'i‘* sets fire to brush

-tcai- plural medio-passive + *-yï-*	*pa(·)γa'itca.iˋ* (clothes) are worn out
na·vai- to gather up + *-yï-*	*na·'vaaiˋ* gathers up

Contrast the final *-ɣ·aiˋ* of *a'iɣ·aiˋ* SEVERAL SAY (< *ai-ɣ·a-yï-*) with the final *-ɣ·aiˋ*, *-ɣ·a.iˋ* of *pïnɪ'ɣ·a.iˋ* SEES (< *pïnɪ-ɣ·ai-yï-*).

(d) *Treatment of long vowels.* All final long vowels, which includes doubled short vowels (see § 4, b), are shortened, a final breath taking the place of the lost mora:

ᵛi'va·- here	*ᵛi'väˋ* (see § 3, 1, a)
qaγa·- to begin to sing	*qaγa'ˋ*
qïŋwa·- edge	*qïŋwa'ˋ*
Aˋcɪ'a·- outer surface	*Aˋcɪ'aˋ*
mori·- bean	*morɪ'ˋ*
-vï·- irrealis	*aro''avïˋ* would be
qwïγwïï- several take one object	*qwïγwï'ˋ*
Uˣqwɪ'yv·-, *Uˣqwɪ'yuu-* arrow	*Uˣqwɪ'yuˋ*

(e) *Treatment of diphthongs.* All final *i-* diphthongs lose the second mora, the *-i*, its place being taken by a breath. This breath has not *i-* timbre. Examples are:

-p·ïγai- remote past	*a'ip·ïγaˋ* said
avi'χai- while lying	*avi'χaˋ*
-'urai- toward	*u'u'raˋ* toward it
ïvʷai- down, west	*ïvʷa'ˋ*

Note that:

original *-ai-* becomes final *-aˋ*
original *-a-yï-* becomes final *-aiˋ*
original *-ai-yï-* becomes final *-a.iˋ*

Final glottalized diphthongs (see § 15, 2, a), aside from *-a'(a)i-*, retain the *-i* as a "murmured" vowel (see a above), e. g. causative *-t·u'ⁱ*; *Aˣqɔ''ⁱ* SEVERAL SLEEP < *Aˣqɔ'(ɔ)i-*. Final *-a'(a)i-*, however, is treated analogously to *-ai-*, i. e. *-i* is lost without trace and the then final glottal stop is followed by a "murmured" *ᵃ*:

-γwa'ai- to go in order to	*ɥwa'iᶻɣaiγwa'ᵃ* to go in order to hang
ya'ai- to die	*ya''ᵃ*
naŋwa'ai- both	*naŋwa''ᵃ*

Final *-au-* is treated like *-a-* + *-u-*, i. e. the *-u-* is unvoiced (see a above):

purau- flour	*pura′ᵾ*

(f) *Treatment of monosyllables.* All monosyllables, except those ending in *-ai-*, sustain no loss of mora. They end in free breath or, if the stem ends in a glottal stop, take on a "murmured" echo vowel:

pa·- water	*pa·ʿ*
pɔ·- trail	*pɔ·ʿ*
qwau- off	*qwa′uʿ*
nï′, nï- I	*nï″ⁱ*

A final *-ai-* in monosyllables becomes *-a·ʿ*:

ma(a)i- to find	*mą·ʿ*

(g) *Special developments.* A final breathing or voiceless vowel is lost as such before a word beginning with a voiceless vowel or voiceless *y* or *w* (see 2 below). In such cases the voiceless ending of the first merges, in a sort of crasis, with the voiceless beginning of the next. Particularly noteworthy is the formation of voiceless labialized consonants "across" words. Thus, *-p·ɪ* + *ᴀʿ-* > *-p·ᴀʿ-* (*p·* is here a strongly aspirated surd); *-ŋwɪ* + *ïʿ-* > *-ŋwïʿ-*; *-q·ᴀ* + *wᴀʿ-* > *-q·wᴀʿ-*; *-ŋwᴀ* + *wᴀʿ-* > *-ŋwᴀʿ-*. Examples of such mergings are:

taŋwᴀ we + *ᴀʿpïi-* to sleep	*ta′ŋwᴀʿpï′iʿ* we sleep
-q·ᴜ objective + *wïʿtɔn′ɪ-* to shake out	*ma(·)nɔ′q·wïtɔ′n′ⁱᵡpïɣa′aik·wᴀ* shook them all out
taŋwᴀ we + *wᴀʿtcü′ŋwi-* four	*taŋwᴀʿtcü′ŋwɪyum·un·ɪʿ* we four

Not infrequently a final breathing or voiceless vowel is completely lost before a word beginning with a consonant, particularly if that consonant is identical or homorganic with the consonant preceeding the unvoiced vowel. A germinated or nasalized consonant (see § 12, 2, a; § 16) results:

miyɔ′n·ɪᴀ far away + *paɣ(a)i-* to go	*miyɔ′n·ɪ p·aɣa′ik·w′aiʿ* goes off far away
aŋa′iac·ᴜ him + *cɪna′ŋwavɪʿ* coyote (obj.)	*aŋa′iac·ɪna′ŋwavɪʿ*
umʷv·′ʷα′miɪᴜ in front of them + *mï′ᴜ* far off	*umʷv·′ʷα′miᴜ* in front of them far off
nï′aq·ᴀ I- it + *qwïʿqwï″iʿ* takes several times	*nï′aq·wïʿqwï″iʿ* I take it several times

qa·''namɪ thy singing — *qa·''nam pʊ'tcu'tcuγwai'* understands thy singing

A final voiceless *-ɪ* is voiced again to *-i* as a glide to a following *y-*:

qï'aŋwɪ yesterday — *qï'aŋwɪ ya''ᵃ* died yesterday

(2) UNVOICING IN NON-FINAL POSITION. Under certain accentual conditions to be defined below (see § 10, 1) a short vowel or the second mora of a long vowel or diphthong loses its voice in initial or medial position before a geminated unvoiced consonant (*p·*; *t·*; *q·*; *q·w*; *s·*, *c·*; *t·s*, *t·c*). Here we shall deal only with the manner of such unvoicing.

(a) *Treatment of short vowels.* Short vowels are unvoiced as in final position (see 1, a–c) with the same effect on preceding consonants. The breathy quality, however, of these non-final unvoicings is even greater than in final position. Hence a moment of free untimbred breath (indicated as *-'-*) is generally audible after the unvoiced vowel proper and before the consonantal closure; before guttural stops (*q*, *qw*), less frequently before other stops, this *-'-* develops to a weak guttural spirant (indicated *-ˣ-*), which has palatal timbre after *i* (indicated *-ˣ-*, a very brief but sharp *x* sound as in German *ich*). Such a breath-glide may also occur under appropriate conditions finally before a word closely linked with the preceding; e. g. *pa'.iAˣ qarï'rïA* OF-WATER SITTING (obj.), OF THE LAKE. A nasal (*m*, *n*) preceding the voiceless vowel is completely unvoiced (*M*, *N*) when initial and generally half-voiced (*mM*, *nN*) when medial; an initial *y* becomes completely unvoiced (*Y-* is acoustically like *-ˣ-*, only inclined to be less spirantal in quality). *-ni-*, when unvoiced, often appears as n^{yx}, the *-i-* palatalizing the *n* (see § 13, 4) and unvoicing to a spirantal ˣ. As in final position, the vocalic timbre is not always very clear; e. g. *-c·ï-* often unvoices to *-c·-*, *-γa-* to *-x·-*, *-si-* to *-s·-*. Examples are:

ap·ï'i- to sleep — *Aˈpï'iˈ* sleeps

tac·ɪ'p·a- evening — *tAˈcɪ'p·a(u)x·U* when it was evening

aq·a- it — *Aˣqa'naŋqwɔp·A* near it

maŋwa'va- to creep — *maŋwa'ɸAqa(i)yïamï* they are creeping

to·'q·wa- to be black — *to·'q·WAˈqaŋU* several become black

aŋqa'γa- to be red — *aŋqa'x·qaŋU* several become red

kwip·a'- to beat, hit	*kWI'pa'nI* beat me!
pi̯k·a' sore	*pIˣk̲a'mɔ'°* sore-handed
tsip·i'- to appear	*ts·pɪ'ŋUpïγa'* appeared
-ɔa'γɪt·uγwa- around	*aŋa'ɔax·tux·WA* around him
wïq·a'm'mi- to cover	*Wï'qa'm'mɪŋuntca·ŋanI* I covered him
türa'c·ïq·wa- to come to a standstill	*türɑ'c·qwɑts·* having come to a standstill
pɔ·'t·ɔq·wa- to be round	*pɔ·'t·ɔˣqwaRï* being round
puc·a'γai- to look for	*pU'ca'γaip·ïγa'* looked for
-yu-c·ampa- although	*a'iYUcam̥paŋWA* although he said
yuq·u'- fawn	*YUˣqu'ts·* fawn
muq·wi'χa- to call on	*pi̯ŋqa'MUˣqwi̯χai'* keeps calling on
mït·ï'ŋwa- point of hill	*Mï'tï'ŋWA*
qa·'-n·a- singing	*qa·'nNA'cuv a'ip·ïγa'* still-his-own-singing said
nuq·wi'- to stream	*NUˣqwi'ntï* stream
paγ(a)'i- to go + *nuq·wi'-* to stream, run	*pa(·)γa'(i)nʸˣqwɪp·ïγa'* started off on way

Note, in the last example, the curious merging of original *-γ(a)i'nu-* to *-γa'(i)nʸˣ-* for normally expected *-γa'inNUˣ-*.

Rarely *ɪ* develops a parasitic ^{s} or ^{ts} before a following *ts* or *tc*; e. g. *ta·'p·ɪ^{ts}tcaq·aip·ïγa'* (THEY) WERE TIRED.

Unvoiced vowels directly following other vowels quite frequently sharpen to a secondary *-x·-*. This happens most frequently with *-u-* (normally unvoiced to *-U-*, *-U'*, *-Uˣ-*), which then appears as *-x(·)U-*, *-ˣU-*, *-ux(·)U-* (with glide *-u-*).

Examples are:

ci̯mʷï'a- to leave	*ci̯mʷï'x·qwa'ᵃⁱpïγa'* left to start away (*-x·-* < *-Aˣ-*)
-up·a'- through	*pina's·ɪχax·Upa'aφï* through his own legs; *pɔ·'ˣUpa'ᵃ* through the trail; *ᵘmʷa'uxUpa'ᵃ* through there

After *ŋ*, as well as after *q·* and *ŋq* (cf. 1, a), *u* frequently develops to *ˣU* or simply *ˣ*:

-ŋu-	momentaneous suffix	*ïiv^{w}ı'ŋ^{x}ʊpïγa'*	asked; *na(i)ya'-p̣·a·ŋ^{x}pïγa'* appeared, seemed

An initial ^{x}- attack is sometimes heard before a *w* + voiceless vowel; e. g. ^{x}*WÏ'cı'aφI* FEATHER.

After a consonant + glottal stop (or glottal stop + consonant) the reducible vowel is, as in the preceding cases, completely unvoiced if the glottal stop belongs properly to the preceding syllable, otherwise the vowel, counting for two moras, is preserved intact (cf. final treatment, 1, a, end). Owing to the immediately preceding glottal closure, the reduced vowel is whispered rather than fully breathed, which causes a following ^{x} or ^{ɣ} release to stand out all the more sharply. Examples are:

qwï·''nı-k̲·ai-	to strut out one's breast	*qwï·''NI^{ɣ}k̲aai'*	struts out (his) breast
wavï''nı-	to pull bowstring	*wa(·)vï'n'I^{ɣ}pïγa'aimï*	they 2 pulled their bowstrings
pïmpï'n'ni-	several look (<*pïn·i-* with inserted -'-)	*pïmpï'n'I^{ɣ}k̲aiyïaŋA*	several look at him
-n'na-	momentaneous transitive (< *-n·a-* durative transitive with inserted -'-)	*aŋqa'n'NA^{x}pïγa'aikWA*	painted it

With these examples contrast:

-up̣·a-	through	*o'o'p̣·at·ïA*	being through it (obj.)
-n'ni-	continuative	*pïni'n'nıp·ïγa'*	kept looking; *moi'n'nip·ïγa'* led around

Here the *-a-* and *-i-* are protected from the reduction which their phonetic position would warrant by the glottal stop inhering in the syllable.

After a glottal stop preceded by a vowel, a reducible vowel is "murmured," e. g.:

uru''a-	to be	*uru''^{a}pïγa'*	was

Yet such vowels were quite often heard as fully voiced; e. g. *uru''ap·ïγa'*, further:

-t·u'a-	impersonal	*ya(a)'iŋqïtu'ap·ïγa'*	was hunting with people

(b) *Treatment of long vowels.* Under the appropriate phonetic conditions the second mora of a long vowel is unvoiced. It is treated precisely like a short vowel of the same quality (see a). Particularly frequent is the development of the voiceless part of a long vowel to *x·*. Examples are:

cïrï'ya·-t̓·ui- to frighten	*cï'cï'rï'ya't̓uiyïnɪ* frightens me several times
tuγwa·- fire goes out	*tuγwa'ˈpïγa'* fire went out
mantca·- to put one's hands + *-q·ai-* resultative	*mantca'$_{A}{}^{x}$qa'* to hold out one's hands
-r'ɔ'- (< *-r'ua'-*) interrogative + *-aq·a-* it > *-r'ua·q·a-*	*ɥwa'va·n·ɪar'ɔx·wqaxain·ɪ'* it looks as though it will rain (for *-w-* see § 14, 3, c)
tɔ·'aγa·-q·arï- to sit watching *-mï·-* after	*tɔɔ·'aγax·qaʀïpïγa'* sat watching *ɥnɪ'ŋumï'tsɪaŋ$_{A}$* having done so to him
ma- with the hand + *pɔ·t·ɔq·wa-* to be round	*wɪa'm·avɔx·tɔq·w$_{A}$qain$_{A}$* what had been hand-rounded out of mud (*wɪa-*)
ma- + *to·q·wa-* to stretch	*ma(·)ro'O^{x}qwa(i)y'ĭq·w$_{A}$* (I) stretch it
sɔri·'k·ɪ- Salt Lake	*sɔri'^{x}kɪŋwɪt·ux·w$_{A}$* to Salt Lake

The rule for glottally affected syllables having a long vowel is parallel to that of short-voweled syllables (see a). A reducible second mora is unvoiced if the glottal stop belongs properly to the preceding syllable (see *-cïrï'ya·-* above), but retained intact if the glottal stop inheres in its own syllable, e. g.:

-'a·-, -a·'- not to be	*qaŋqa'mïa·'q·ut·u'ac·amp$_{A}$* though others are not jack-rabbits (not, as one might expect, **qaŋqa'-mï'a$_{A}{}^{x}$qu-*)

Examples occur, however, in which the glottalized long vowel is broken, the reducible second mora appearing as a murmured vowel (cf. 2, a, end), e. g.:

kwit·u- anus + *-up̓·a-* through *kwɪ'tu'^{u}p·a·nɪ* through my anus

(c) *Treatment of diphthongs.* The *i* or *u* of a diphthong, if in a reducible mora, loses its voice and undergoes the developments

already given (see a). Thus, *au* becomes *aU*, *aU'*, *aU^{x}*, *a^{x}U*; *ai* becomes *aI*, a(*I*)^{x}, generally with *i*- glide as *aiI*, *ai'*, *ai*(*I*)^{x} (the *-ai-* here is extremely brief, better written *a^{i}*). Examples are:

uŋwa'i-k̲·ai- to be hanging	*u̯wa'i^{x}k̲a'*
piya'i- to be left over	*piyai'pïγa'* was left over
mava'i-t·ïγan·ıa- to a distance	*ma(·)va'^{x}tıγan·ı'*
ïm^{w}ï'i- several arrive	*i̯m^{w}ï'ıpïγa'* several arrived

For treatment of *-au-*, see 2, a. Note that non-final *ai* is treated differently from final *ai*; e. g. from *pïni'k̲·ai-* TO SEE are formed *pïni'k̲·a'* TO SEE and *pa-vï'nık̲aıpïγa'* SAW WATER.

The reduced *-i-* or *-u-* of a glottalized diphthong is "murmured," e. g.:

aq·ɔ''(ɔ)i- several sleep	*$_{A}$^{x}qɔ''^{i}pïγa'* several slept
-q·wa'(a)i- off	*cim^{w}ï'x·qwa'^{ai}pïγa'* left in going off

Nevertheless, full unreduced vowels were generally recorded in such cases (cf. 2, a, end), e. g.:

ya'(a)i- to die	*p$_{A}$'pa'q·a(i)ya'aip·ïγa'* kept groaning with pain (lit., dying of pain)

SYLLABIC STRUCTURE AND ACCENT (§ § 9–11).

§ 9. *Syllables and moras.*

Every Paiute syllable consists, properly speaking, of a vowel (long or short) or diphthong preceded, or unpreceded, by a consonant (e. g. *u-*, *o·-*, *ai-*, *pï-*, *to·-*, *pai-*); or of such a primary syllable stopped by a nasal consonant (*m*, *n*, *ŋ*) that is itself followed by a stopped consonant or *w* (e. g. *aŋ-qa-*, *ain-tcï-*, *tïŋ-qa-*, *va·n-tï-*, *nïŋ-wï-*). It is somewhat doubtful whether vowels followed by geminated consonants are to be considered as ending their syllable or not (e. g. *ap·ï'i-* as *a-p·ï'i-* or *ap-pï'i-*). Morphology and the unvoicing of vowels before geminated stopped consonants (see § 10) suggest the former; direct phonetic observation apparently the latter. It is quite possible, as suggested by etymology, that *ŋw* also is best considered as belonging to the following syllable (e. g. *nï-ŋwï-* < **nï-mï-*). A syllable may be either entirely voiceless or only so in its second

mora (e. g. *A*ʿ-, aɪʿ-, *-q·A-*, *-q·aɪ*ʿ-); see § 8. A glottal stop may be found at the beginning or end of a syllable, or in the middle of it (e. g. *-n'ni-*, *-n'i-*, *-ni'-*; *-p̣·a-*, *-p'a-*, *-pa'a-*, *-pa̤-*, *-pa'-*); see § 15, 2.

Of greater phonologic importance than the division of a word into syllables is that into units of length, moras. The vowels are to be taken as the measures of these moras. Every organic short vowel (voiced or unvoiced) counts for one mora; every long vowel or diphthong (voiced or partly unvoiced) for two. Syllabically final nasals do not affect the mora as quantitative unit. By way of illustration, *qanɪ'va·ntux·wA* has six moras (*qa-* + *-nɪ* + *-va-* + *-an-* + *-tu-* + *-x·wA* < *-γwa-*); *a'iʏUcampa·ŋanI* has eight (*a-* + *-i-* + *-ʏU-* < *-yu-* + *-cam-* + *-pa-* + *-a-* + *-ŋa-* + *-nI* < *-ni-*). The first, third, fifth moras, and so on, will be styled uneven moras; the second, fourth, sixth, and so on, even moras.

It is very important to note that all inorganic increments and losses have no effect on the mora-construction of the word. Secondary lengthening of short vowels, pseudo-diphthongization, glide vowels, shortening of long vowels or diphthongs all have no effect. Thus, *qa(·)nɪ'va(au)ŋwI* < *qanɪ'vaŋwI* has four, not seven, moras; on the other hand, *mam·a·''(a)ŋɪt̒·ɪva·n·ɪar'ɔnI* WILL (THEY) LOSE ME? < *mam·a·''ŋɪt̒·uiva·n·ɪar'uanI* has thirteen, not eleven, moras. Long vowels resulting from contraction of long + short vowels, however, count as ordinary long vowels (e. g. *-va·-* + *-aq·a-* gives *-va·q·a-*, counting for three, not four, moras). Similarly, vowel + diphthong results in a two-moraed diphthong (e. g. *ma-* + *-ai-* gives *mai*, *maai-*, counting for two, not three, moras). In other words, no three-moraed syllables are found.

A glottalized syllable with long vowel or diphthong counts for two moras; e. g. *ya'(a)i-* TO DIE is two-moraed like *ya(a)i-* TO HUNT, *-v(a)'a-* of *qanɪ'v(a)'a·mI* AT THY HOUSE two-moraed like *-va-* of *qanɪ'va·nI* AT MY HOUSE. A glottalized syllable with short vowel counts for two-moraed if the glottal stop is inherent (cf. § 8, 1, a, end; 2, a, end; § 15, 1) (e. g. *sa'a-* TO BOIL; *-n'ni-*, *-ni'i-* continuative; *'a-* of *'a'-t·ï-* GOOD). Otherwise the glottal stop has no effect on the quantitative value of the syllable. Thus, *-pa'a-* of *nampa''amI* THY FOOT is one-moraed, like *-pa-* of *nampa'nI* MY FOOT; contrast two-moraed *-p̣·a-* of *a'up̣·aŋqɪpïγaʿ* CAME ALONG THROUGH IT. The external syllabification does not matter. Both one-moraed and two-moraed glottalized syllables may appear broken or truly monosyllabic; e. g. *-up̣·a-* or *-up·a'a-* THROUGH (two-moraed *-p̣·a-*), *qanɪ'p̣·ïmï* or *qanɪ'p·ï''ïmï* THEIR OLD CAMP (one-moraed *-p̣·ï-*). A glottal stop com-

ing between two distinct vowels, whether these form a true diphthong or not, does not add a mora to either; e. g. *-t·u'i-* and *-ru'a-* are both two-moraed, not three-moraed. An initial vowel preceded by a glottal stop, not belonging to the preceding word, or, what is equivalent, an initial broken vowel, is always two-moraed; e. g. $(^{i})$*'i'-* or *i'i'-* of *i'i'p·i-*, $(^{i})$*'i'p·i-* TO DRINK REPEATEDLY is two-moraed (contrast *-' i-* of *nï' ivi'ŋU* I DRINK, which is one-moraed). $m^{w}a'$- THAT also counts as a two-moraed syllable; it is apparently related to *ma-'* THAT as is $(^{i})$*'i'-* THIS to *i-'* THIS (see § 43).

§ 10. *Accent.*

In Southern Paiute accentuation is governed primarily by moras, not syllables. The fundamental law of accentuation is a *law of alternating stresses.* According to this all odd moras are "weak" or relatively unstressed, all even moras are "strong" or relatively stressed. The theoretically strongest stress of the word comes on the second mora. Hence, all words beginning with a syllable containing an organic long vowel or diphthong or an inherent glottal stop are accented on the first syllable; e. g. *pa·'v'a·x·I* OVER THE WATER, *ma(a)'iɫ·ainanI* WHAT I SAID, $(^{a})$*'a't·ïŋqanI* GOOD HOUSE. On the other hand, all words beginning with a syllable containing an organic short vowel, inherently unglottalized, are accented on the second syllable, unless the second syllable is final and therefore unvoiced, in which case the main stress is thrown back on the first syllable; e. g. *mava''a·x·I* OVER THAT, *qa(·)ni'ntcui* BUILDS A HOUSE, *qa(·)'nI* HOUSE. Actually the main stress is sometimes, but not at all frequently, heard displaced to another than the theoretically justified syllable, but this displacement is as secondary and inorganic as the secondary lengthening of short vowels. Aside from the final mora, which is always unvoiced, only a weak mora may be unvoiced.

(1) UNVOICING UNDER THE LAW OF ALTERNATING STRESSES. We may now state the full law of non-final unvoicing. Aside from the next to the last mora, which is always preserved intact (owing to the unvoicing of the following mora), every weak mora standing before a geminated stop (*p·*; *t·*; *t·c*, *t·s*; *q·*, *k·*; *q·w*, *k·w*) or sibilant (*c·*, *s·*; postvocalic sibilants are always to be understood as geminated) loses its voice. A diphthong or long vowel can be partly unvoiced only when its second mora is weak, as its first mora, if weak, is protected from unvoicing by the vocalic second mora; similarly, a short-

voweled syllable with inherent glottal stop is always preserved, as it can not lose both its moras. The weak second mora of an inherently glottalized long vowel or diphthong or a weak-moraed vowel separated from an immediately preceding vowel by a glottal stop is either preserved or, at most, "murmured" (see § 8, 2, a, end; b, end; c, end). The law of alternating stresses necessarily means that there is a constant alternation of voiced and unvoiced (or murmured) vowels in non-final syllables of related words. Examples are:

tcaq·(a)i-tsɪ- younger brother	*tcA^{x}q(a)'its·* younger brother: *nantca'q·(a)i-tsɪŋWï* brothers to each other
paq·a- to kill	*pA^{x}qa'i'* kills: *tïv^{w}a'q·ai'* kills game (*-vaq·a-* < *paq·a-*, see § 16, 1)
-yu-c·ampa- although -ing	*tïv^{w}a'q·aŋwai'yuc·ampA* though not killing game: *qU'qwɪ'ŋ'wai-YUcampA* though not shooting
-ŋwit·uγwa- toward	*uγu'm·aŋwɪt·ux·WA* away from it: *nanɪ'n'naŋWɪtux·WA* towards different directions (*-n'na-* counts for two moras)
puc·aγai- to look for + *-p·ïγai-* remote past	*pU'ca'γaip·ïγa'* looked for: *nampu'c·aγaIpïγa'* looked for trail
tɔγɔq·wi- to run	*tɔγɔ'q·WIt'uiŋWA* cause him to run: *tɔ'tɔ'x·qwɪyïnI* I run repeatedly (< *tɔt·ɔ'γɔqwi-*)

(2) EFFECT OF LAW OF ALTERNATING STRESSES ON GLOTTALIZED VOWELS. As we shall see later (§ 15, 2, a), a broken vowel (e. g. *a'a*) constantly alternates with the types ' + vowel and vowel + '. To a considerable extent, though not with absolute regularity, these variations tend to adjust themselves to the law of alternating stresses. The group v'v[1] tends to preserve that form, or its close variant v'^{v} (or v'), if the (first) v is in a strong mora, but the form 'v (or ^{v}'v) if in a weak one. In the latter case the ' may appear immediately before, after, or welded with the preceding consonant. Initially after a consonant -v'v- is usual. The form v'v applies both to one-moraed groups broken from v and to primary two-moraed groups. Examples of alternation are:

[1] In formulae of this sort v stands for vowel, c for consonant.

-ya- plural imperative + *-'. . . mï-* dual subject > *-ya'amï-*	*tɔγɔ'qwɪya\'amï, -ya\'ᵃmï*[1] ye 2 run: *ivi'y'amï* ye 2 drink
-na- verbal noun + *-'. . .mi-* thy	*ampa'γana\'amɪ, -na\'ᵃmɪ* thy talking: *qa·''namɪ* thy singing
tɔ'ɔ'p·i-, -t·ɔ'ɔmpi- hole (*tɔ'ɔ-* is two-moraed)	*movʷɪ't·ɔ\'mpɪ* nose-hole
-'. . .ŋwa- him (invis.)	*pᴀˣqa'ŋumpa\'aŋWA* will kill him: *pᴀˣqa'q̇·uŋWA* give him a licking
wa'a'- cedar	*w(a)'a'p·ɪ* cedar tree
sa'a'- to boil	*s(a)'a'p·ɪ* boiled; mush
mɔ'ɔ'- hand	*m(ɔ)'ɔ'ɸɪ* hand

A parallel alternation is to be observed in the case of glottalized diphthongs. Thus, *a'(a)i* appears either, with strong first mora, as *a'ai* (or *a'i*), or, with weak first mora, as *'ai*. Examples are:

-ŋw(a)'ai- together with	*pavi'tsɪŋwa\'aiɸï* with his own elder brother: *imi'ŋw'ai\'mpa'* shall go with thee
-γw(a)'ai- to go (in order to)	*wara'xani·'χwa''aiχa'* going to collect grass seeds: *pɪtcï'γw'ai\'p·ïγa'* arrived
ïvʷɪ'c·ïr(a)'ai- to tell a lie	*ïvʷɪ'c·ïra\'a.i'* tells a lie: *tï'ï'-ɸʷɪcïr'a·i\'* tells lies several times (*-a·i'* < *-ai-yï-*)

Frequently, also, a weak-moraed vowel, particularly *a* or *ï*, is elided before a glottal stop followed by a different vowel, e. g.:

wï'a' penis	*w(ï)'a'p·ɪ* penis

An initial (v)'v'- is either a broken v- (e. g. *a'a't·ï-*, *(ᵃ)'a't·ï-* GOOD) or contracted from v- + -'v-. There is no phonetic or mora-quantitative difference between the two types. Examples of contracted initial (v) 'v'- are:

u- that + *-'urai-* toward	*u'u'ra', (ᵘ)'u'ra'* toward it
a- that + *-'axavatcuγwa-* right into	*a'a'xavatcux·WA, (ᵃ)'a'xavatcux·WA* right into it.

(3) APPARENT VIOLATIONS OF LAW OF ALTERNATING STRESSES. There are several purely delusive violations of the law of alternating

[1] The \ indicates a secondary stress on a strong mora.

stresses that are due to such inorganic processes as pseudo-diphthongization or glides; e. g. in *tcA'tca'p·aγaitcA^{x}qainA* (ITS) HAVING BEEN TORN TO PIECES, *-γai-* is developed from *-γi-* (see § 3, 2, a) and thus counts for only one mora. On the other hand, in an example like *tï'ŋqA^{x}qaRï* to run away hard, the short vowel of *tï'-* is only secondarily shortened from a two-moraed *tï·-* (cf. *tï·'ntɔγɔq·WI* TO RUN HARD). A few errors are sure to have crept in also; e. g. *A'tï'x·Iqarïpïγaˈ* SAT NURSING, no doubt either misheard or misdictated for *A'tï'x·IqaRïpïγaˈ*.

Aside from such only apparent examples, there are, however, certain cases (apart from *m^{w}a'-* THAT, already specified) of initial short-voweled and non-glottalized syllables that seem to count for two moras and hence to bear the main stress. Of these, *tï'c·ampA* ALWAYS is evidently to be explained by reference to its less frequently heard variant *ïˈtï'c·ampA*. Less easy to explain are:

ï'- in vain
tï'ra- desert, incomplete
ï'p·ïn·in'niˈ looks around in vain
tï'RAˈcin'avɪχaiva·ntï shall be desert-dog; *tï'rauq·wɪvïαφï* his own unfeathered arrow

tï'ŋwï- HURRIEDLY is regularly so accented (except as adverb *tïŋwï'n A*), but counts for two, not three, moras; e. g. *tï'ŋwïRIqamɪyαnI* I ALWAYS EAT QUICKLY. Judging by *tï'-* < *tï·'-* (see above), *ï'-* may be really shortened from *ï·'-*. As for *tï'ra-*, there has evidently been some contraction, as we find *pa-rï'yara-vaˈ* OUT IN THE RAIN (lit. WATER-DESERT-AT), but *tï'ra-vaˈ* OUT IN THE OPEN.

An interesting group of violations, or apparent violations, of the law of alternating stresses is embraced by forms with secondarily lost reduplicating syllable with voiceless vowel (cf. *tï'c·ampA* < *ïˈtï'-c·ampA* above). Such forms alternate with, though less frequent than, intact reduplicated forms. Examples are:

pitcï'- to arrive
pï-ti'na- to follow with one's eye
pA^{x}qa'ŋUpïγaˈ one killed (one person)
tïv^{w}ɪ'p·ï country
(pIˈ)pi'tcïpïγaˈ arrived
(pïˈ)pï't·inap·ïγaˈ followed with (their) eyes
(pA^{x})pa'q·aŋup·ïγaˈ several killed (one person)
(tïˈ)tï'φ^{w}Ipïaγaɪˈpïaφï their former countries

From *pUˈtcu'tcuγwa-* TO KNOW are sometimes formed *pv·'tcutcuγwa-* as substitute for reduplicated *pUˈpu'tcutcuγwa-* (e. g. *wï'ɪ'p·v·tcu-*

tcuγwa- TO KNOW HOW TO DANCE); and, by haplology, *putcuγwa-* (e. g. *qa·'p·u'tcuγwat·ui-* TO TEACH HOW TO SING < *qa·'p·U'tcu'tcuγwat·ui-*).

An initial *i-* is sometimes lost before a following organic *y*. This also brings about an only apparent violation of the law of alternating stresses.

iyɔ'vi- mourning dove (cf. Ute *aiö'vi-*)	*yö'vi-*

This is different from the consonantizing of prevocalic *i* and *u* to *y* and *w* respectively (see § 3, 2, d; 5, a), where there is no real loss involved. Initial *ï* of *ïγïʀ* INDEED is frequently elided (see § 60, 3), e. g.:

a'ia·ŋ ïγïʀ that-he indeed (said)	*a'ia·ŋ gïʀ*
-χain·ıa- too + *ïγïʀ*	*nɨ̨nı'aχwα'χain·ı χïʀ* of me too indeed

§ 11. *Loss of one or more moras.*

All the losses referred to in § 10, 2 and 3, are, in a sense, only apparent, as they do not influence the original rhythmic framework of the word. Fundamental alternations of mora-structure are, however, also found, which follow the law of alternating stresses. Certain words lose a mora in some, not necessarily all, compounds, generally when occurring as the first element of a compound. Certain suffixed elements, also, alternate between a longer and a shorter form.

Particularly common is alternation between a primary long and a reduced short vowel. Examples are:

pa·- water	*pa-* in compounds: *pa-rï'ia-* elk (lit., water-deer); *pa-γï'u-* fish; *pʌ'-sɔ'rɔrɔitcï* waterfall; *pa-ŋwı'aɸï* mud at bottom of water
o·- arrow	*u-* in compounds: *u-ru'q·u-* to fix an arrow; *u-γu'n·a-* quiver (lit., arrow-bag)
tï·- up	*tï-*: *tïna'ŋqwʌ* upward, from the west
wï'cı'a·- feather	*wï'cı'a-*: *wï'cı'ʌ'sıvai-* to scrape a quill smooth

An element containing a diphthong or two vowels in immediate juxtaposition sometimes loses the second vowel, e. g. *-γai-* TO HAVE: participial *-γa-ntï-* HAVING (see § 25, 6, a); *-q·ai-* perfective: participial *-q·a-ntï-* HAVING -ED (see § 25, 6, d); *-mia-* usitative: *-mi-* (see § 30, 10).

A post-consonantal vowel may also drop out, in which case the preceding consonant also disappears or, if a nasal, may leave its trace in the "nasalizing" power of the stem. Examples are:

u-γu'n·a- quiver
un·a'-: *ųn·a'vïγa-* to put away a quiver

tïγι'a-vï- deer-hide (γ probably inorganic in origin, see § 14, 1)
tïa'vï-: *tïa'vïra'ᵗ* deer-hide shirt

in·i'- what (person, animal)?
im-pï'- what (thing)?

pa'a'n·i- to be high
pa'a-ⁿ: *pa'a'ntï-* high

-v'ana- upon
-v'an-tuγwa- on to

naŋwa'- trail, track
na-ⁿ: *nantï'na-* to follow one's track; *nampu'c·aγai-* to look for tracks

nïŋwï- person
nï-ⁿ: *nïmpï'ŋwaφI* somebody else's wife; *nïŋqa'n·ιφI* somebody else's house; *nïntu'aŋqï-* to give birth to one; *NÏ'cï'-m^wïa-* to let a person go

Even cases of the complete loss of two contiguous moras are found, e. g.:

tïγι'a- deer
tï-: *tïv^wa'q·a-* to kill game

uru''a·- carrying strap
uru-: *ɔ'tca'uRU* strap by which water-jar is carried

CONSONANTS (§ § 12–16).

§ 12. *Survey of consonants.*

A large number of consonants is found in Southern Paiute, but as with the vowels, they reduce to a comparatively small number of primary consonants. Before taking up consonantal processes in detail, we shall give a descriptive table of consonants actually found.

	Unaspirated Stops	Aspirated Stops	Voiced Spirants	Voiceless Spirants	Affricatives	Voiced Nasals	Voiceless Nasals	Voiced Rolled	Voiceless Rolled
Labial	*p*	*p'*	*v*	*ɸ*		*m*	*M*		
Labial (rounded)	*p*^{w}	*p*^{w}	*v*^{w}; *w*	*ɸ*^{w}; *W*		*m*^{w}	*M*^{w}		
Dental	*t*	*t'*				*n*	*N*		
Alveolar				*s*	*ts*; *ts·*			*r*	*R*
c-Palatal				*c*	*tc*; *tc'*	*n*^{y}			
Anterior Palatal	*k̲*	*k̲'*, *k̲*^{x}	*γ*, *χ*; *y*	*x̲*; ^{x}, *Y*		*ŋ*			
Anterior Palatal Labialized			*γ*^{w}, *χ*^{w}	(*x̲w*)					
Back Palatal	*k*, *q*	*k'*, *q'*	*γ*, *χ*	*x*; ^{x}		*ŋ*			
Back Palatal Labialized	*kw*, *qw*	*kW*, *qW*	*γw*, *χw*	*xW*		*ŋw*	*ŋW*		
Glottal	'			*h*;'					

(1) PRIMARY CONSONANTS. This rather elaborate scheme is based on only twelve, at most thirteen, primary consonants: *p*; *t*; *k* (*q*); *kw* (*qw*); *s*(*c*); *ts* (*tc*); *m*; *n*; *ŋ*; *w*; *y*; '; possibly also initial *h*-('-).

(2) SURVEY OF CONSONANTAL DEVELOPMENTS. We shall give here a rapid survey of consonantal developments, showing the relation of the consonantal forms actually found (including several not listed above) to the primary consonants.

(a) *Unvoicing.* The aspirated stops (*p'*; *p*^{w}; *t'*; *k̲'*, *k̲*^{x} —generally written *k*^{x}; *k'*, *q'*; *kW*, *qW*), written simply *p*, *t*, and so on, before voiceless vowels (e. g. *pI*, *tA*); the aspirated affricatives (*tc'*, *ts·*), written *tc*, *ts* before voiceless vowels (e. g. *tcï*); most of the voiceless spirants (*ɸ*; *ɸ*^{w}; *W*; *x̲*; ^{x}, *Y*; *x*; ^{x}; *xW*; '); the voiceless or partly voiceless nasals (*M*, *mM*; *m*^{w}; *N*, *nN*; *ŋW*); and the voiceless rolled *R* are all developed from the corresponding unaspirated or voiced forms, or as glides, in connection with the unvoicing of moras (see § 8). It is unnecessary to detail these developments here.

The unaspirated stops and affricatives occur as such only initially before a voiced vowel and medially after an unvoiced vowel (e. g. *pitcï-*, *A'pïï-*); otherwise they are either "nasalized" (e. g. *ampaγa-*,

aintcï-; see § 16, 3) or "geminated" (e. g. *ïiv^{w}aq·a-, i'ip·i-*; see § 16, 2). Aspirated stops and affricatives may also be nasalized or geminated (e. g. *q·ʌ, ntï*). The typical unaspirated stop or affricative is probably an "intermediate" when nasalized, geminated, or medial after a voiceless vowel (in which case it is always geminated in origin; see § 10, 1); and a true surd when initial before a vowel. However, it is difficult to be certain as to these two modes of articulation. The "intermediate" quality is most certain after nasals before voiced vowels and in the release of unaspirated geminated stops and affricatives. It is possible that the attack of the geminated stop and affricative is a true surd.

(b) *Spirantization.* All spirants (except *s, c*; *w*, ʍ; *y*, ʏ; *x*, *x̣*, *ʿ*; *h-*, *ʿ-*) and rolled consonants (*r*, ʀ) are developed from stopped consonants (see § 16, 1); *ŋw* (*ŋ*) is either "spirantized" from *m* (see § 16, 1) or developed from intervocalic *w* (see § 13, 2). *v* (*ɸ*) is bilabial in articulation; for *v^{w}* (*ɸ^{w}*) see § 14, 3, b. *r* (ʀ) is lightly trilled, apparentently in typically alveolar position, probably modified slightly by its tendency to take on vocalic timbres; it was never heard as *d*. *γ* is either fully voiced (as in North German *Tage*) or intermediate (*χ*); for *ɣ* see below.

(c) *Geminated or long consonants.* For geminated stops and affricatives see (a) above. Intervocalic *m, n, ŋ*, and *s, c* are very frequently heard long. It is highly probable that this, particularly for *m·, n·*, and *s·, c·*,is their etymologically typical form and that original Shoshonean intervocalic short *m, n*, and *s*, possibly also *ŋ*, have disappeared as such. Long *x·, x·w* (*x·ʍ*), *x̣·* generally occur as developments of *γ, γw, ɣ* in voiceless positions (see § 8), rarely intervocalically (see § 13, 5, c).

(d) *Glottalized consonants.* For glottalized stops and affricatives (e. g. *p̣, q̣·, t̡c*) and nasals (*m'm, n'n, ŋ'w*) see § 15, 2, b.

(e) *Anterior palatals.* Aside from *y* (and its voiceless development ʏ), anterior palatals (including labialized anterior palatals) develop from back palatals (and labialized back palatals); see § 13, 4.

(f) *Rounded labial consonants.* Aside from *w* (and its voiceless development ʍ), these are all developed from ordinary labial consonants; see § 14, 3, b.

(g) *Alternation of k and q.* By *q* is meant a back palatal stop of moderately velar articulation. Its average position, as determined

by such a group as *aq·a*, is distinctly further back than our English *k-* position in *cold*, yet not so decidedly velar in character as *q* of such a language as Kwakiutl. Its greatest degree of velarity is reached in such examples as *qɔ'ɔi-* and *tɔγɔq·wi-*, i. e. before and after *ɔ*. We shall use *q* and *qw* after all vowels but *i*, when followed by any vowel other than *i*. Before *i* the back palatal becomes distinctly more forward in articulation, about like the *k-* sound of English *cold* or perhaps even *can*; this position is here normally designated as *k*, *kw*. After an *i* the *k* becomes an anterior palatal (see e above). Positions analogous to *k* (*kw*) and *q* (*qw*) are doubtless to be found also in the spirants *γ* (*χ*, *x*), *γw* (*χw*, *xw*). Thus, *γ* of *tɔγɔ'q·wi-* is certainly more velar than *γ* of *tïγi'a-*. However, these phonetic distinctions have here been neglected.

(h) *Alternation of s and c.* These two sibilants are respectively pronounced as in English *sip* and *ship*, except that *c* tends to approach a quality intermediate between the true *s* and *c*. There is some sporadic interchange between *s* and *c*, as between *ts* and *tc*, but on the whole they are used with considerable distinctness according to vocalic position. For secondary assimilations see § 13, 8.

Initially, *s* is regularly used before *a*, *i*, and *ɔ*; *c* before *ï* (which often develops to *i*, *ɪ*; see § 3, 2, b) and *u*. Examples are: *sa·-* RAW, *san·a-* GUM, *sa'a-* TO BOIL, *saγwa-* BLUE, *saγw(ɛ)ia·-* BELLY, *saŋwa-* SAGEBRUSH; *siγu-* NAVEL, *sik·u-* SQUIRREL, *siva-* TO WHITTLE, *siu-* GRAVEL, *si'i-* TO URINATE; *sɔ·a-* TO SOUND LIKE FLOWING WATER, *sɔɔ-* LUNG, *sɔγɔ-* MOIST GROUND, *sɔp·ik·i-* BRAINS, *sɔ·r'ɔa·-* ARM-PIT, *sɔtsɪ-* TO PEEP; *cïï-* SQUAW-BUSH, *cïm^{w}ïa-* TO LET GO, *cïnïmpï-* VULVA, *cïrï'ya·-* TO BE SURPRISED, *cï'ï-* BLOSSOM; *cu(w)a-* TO EAT UP; NEARLY, *cv·-* ONE, *cumai-* TO THINK OF, *cururuin'nɔa-* SMOKE-HOLE, *cu(w)ai-* TO BE GLAD. These rules are only infrequently violated, e. g. *caγwa-*, less frequent form of *saγwa-* BLUE; *cɔ·ya·-* TO BEND, *cɔn·ɪ-* TINDER.

Medially, both preceding and following vowel must be considered. Before *a*, *ï*, and *u*, *c* regularly appears, regardless of what vowel precedes the sibilant, e. g. *maa'-c·aγwa-* BRUSH-BLUE, GREEN (contrast *saγwa-* above), *qwɪc·a-* TO SPARK, *qïc·avi-* HAWK, *tɔc·a-* *white*, *ɔc·a-* CARRYING-BASKET, *puc·aγ·ai-* TO LOOK FOR, *paru'c·a-* VIRGIN RIVER; *qwac·ï-* TO BE RIPE, *aïc·ï-* BUTTERFLY, *yïv^{w}ɪ'c·ïap·ï* LONG-LEAVED PINE SAPLING, *tïv^{w}ɪ'cïra'ai-* TO TELL A LIE, *tv·'c·ïaq·aʀï* BROWN; *aŋac·u-* HE, *'i·c·u-* LONG AGO, *itcïc·u-* THIS ALSO, *mɔc·oi-* MUSTACHE, *qut·uc·u-* GIANT. Only rarely does *s* appear before medial *a*, e. g. *qamï'saγwaya·tsɪγantï* HAVING A JACK-RABBIT STOMACH. The anal-

ogy of a simplex in *sa-* may explain many of these cases. Before *i*, *s* regularly appears if *i* or *a* precedes, but *c* if *ï*, *u*, or *ɔ* precedes, e. g. *tümpʷi'sˑiχaˑχɑntï* ROCK HAVING A CRACK; *asˑi-* ROAN-COLORED, *asˑiaˑ-* SURFACE, *qwasˑi-* TAIL, *tɪ'raˑsˑɪ-* POTATOES; *aïcˑɪ-* BASKET (*-cˑɪ-* not < *-cˑï-*, as shown by assibilation of *t* to *tc* in *aïcˑɪtcu-* TO MAKE A BASKET, see § 13, 3), *aŋ'wïcˑɪ-* TO SNEEZE (*-cˑɪ-* < *-cˑi-*, not *-cˑï-*, as shown by palatalized *ķ* in plural *aŋ'wï'cˑķa-*, see § 13, 4); *nɔnˑɔcˑɪ-* TO DREAM, true *-i-*, cf. plural *nɔnˑɔ'cˑķa-*); *ʊ'qu'cˑɪχɪ'aʻ* NOCK (true *-i-*, as shown by palatalized *χ*). Of these *-asˑi-* tends to vary with less frequent *-acˑi-*, e. g. *ta-na'cˑɪχa-* CLEFT IN HOOF (cf. *pi-na'sˑɪχa-* BETWEEN ONE'S LEGS), *tʌ'pa'cˑķai-* WAS SENSELESS (perhaps *-a'sˑi-* tends to become *a'cˑɪ-*, but *-asˑi'-* to remain). Before *ɔ*, *s* seems to be regular if *a* or *i* precedes, while both *s* and *c* have been found when *ɔ* precedes, e. g. *pʌ'sɔ'rɔrɔitcï* WATERFALL; *pisˑ'ɔ-* CHILDREN; *ɔsˑɔrɔŋwi-* TO SNORE, *qɔcˑɔvï-* TINDER.

The rule is far simpler for the use of *tc* and *ts*. The former is regularly employed before *a*, *ï*, *ɔ*, and *u*; the latter only before *i* (which then often develops to *ɪ*, see § 3, 2, b). These rules apply both initially and medially. Examples are: *tcaˑ-* WRINKLED, *MA'tca'iaŋqï-* TO REACH FOR; *tcïγa-* DUCK, *itcï-* THIS; *tcɔi-* BEAD, *qï'tcɔ'χwɑ́.iʻ* CHEWS; *tcuχwɪ-* TO APPROACH, *patcu'qˑU* BEAVER; *tsipˑi-* TO APPEAR, *tɔtˑsɪ-* HEAD. There is a slight tendency for *ts* to appear before *a* medially and before *ɔ* both initially and medially, e. g. *mantsaŋwɪna-* TO THROW DOWN SEVERAL OBJECTS; *qatsɔaˑ-* (also *qatcɔaˑ-*) TOP, *tsɔavï-* SHOULDER. As for quality, *tc* and *ts* are not as clearly distinct as are *ch* and *ts* of English *church* and *hats* respectively, *ts* in particular tending to an intermediate point of articulation; *tc* is probably purest before *ï* and *u*, also when developed from *t* (see § 13, 3).

§ 13. *Consonantal processes.*

(1) OCCURRENCE OF h, ʻ. Only such cases are here considered as are not due to unvoicing of moras (see § 8).

(a) *Initial Aspiration.* Certain words that begin with a vowel are frequently heard preceded by aspiration, e. g. *ai-*, *ʻai-* TO SAY; demonstrative *a-*, *ai-*, *ʻa-*, *ʻai-* (see § 43), whence *anˑi-*, *ʻanˑi-* TO DO; *atcï-*, *ʻatcï-* BOW. Comparison with other Shoshonean dialects suggests that in part, at least, these initial aspirations are the representatives of a Shoshonean *h-*; e. g. *aγa-*, less frequently *ʻaγa-* WHAT?: Agua Caliente *haxa* WHO? Initial ʻ is found also in certain interjections, e. g. *ʻą* SURPRISE; *ʻaa'ikˑwɪ* OH! Initial ʻ does not function as a consonant,

hence does not prevent elision (see § 7); e. g. *a'i ɪɣïr 'a'imɪ'* THAT INDEED THOU SAYEST, not *ɪɣïR*.

(b) *Developed from -s·-, -c·-.* This sporadic development occurs only medially, never in a final syllable. The *-h-* is strongly aspirated and seems to be particularly common after a voiceless vowel, e. g.:

imi'ʌcampʌ thee only	*imï''hampʌ*
mam·a''caɣwɔits· old woman	*mam·a''haɣwɔits·*
qï'ca'p·ai- to sup	*qïha'p·ai-*
tɔ'ca'- white	*tɔha'-, t'ha'-*
pi̯ni'ŋw'aq·ucu'ŋwʌ while he not still sees	*pi̯ni'ŋw'aq·ho'ŋwʌ*
(negative *-ŋw'a-* counts for two moras)	

(c) *Inorganic -'-.* Rarely is an inorganic -'- introduced before a voiced consonant or glottal stop. It may take on the timbre of the preceding vowel. Examples are:

cïna'ŋwaɸɪ coyote	*cɪ'na'ŋwaɸɪ*
ᵘmᵘa'ɪcampa'ᵃ enough thou	*ᵘmᵘa'ɪcampʌA'a·'* (see § 4, 2, c)
mam·a'rïna- several pursue	*maʌma'rɪnaq·upï̯ɣaic·'uŋwʌ* · again (they) pursued him

(2) POSTVOCALIC W. An intervocalic *-w-* is ordinarily a glide (see § 14, 3, a). When an initial *w* comes, by derivation or compounding, to stand after a vowel, it regularly becomes nasalized to *-ŋw-*:

wa'aŋi- to shout	*tï·'ŋwa'aŋi-* to give a good shout
wi̯nɪ- to stand	*yaŋwɪ'ŋwi̯nɪχa'* while standing and holding
waiχa- to have a council	*nɪa·'vɪŋwaiχap·ɪ* council (of chiefs)
wʌ'tcï'- to catch up with	*cu(w)a'ŋwʌ'tcïp·ï̯ɣa'* nearly caught up with
w(')itsi'- bird	*tï'raŋ'wɪntsi'ɪts·* horned lark (lit., desert bird)

This rule does not operate, however, when *w* becomes intervocalic by reduplication:

wïɣi- vulva	*wïwï'xïʌ* vulvas (obj.)
waɣi- several enter	*wawa'x·ɪpï̯ɣa'* all entered

wïn·ai- to throw
wa'a'tcɪγɪ- to whoop
wïwï'n'nai- several throw down
wa'wa''atcɪγɪ- to whoop several times

Exceptional is also *a·γa-wantcï-* TO HIDE, lit. TO PUT (*watcï-*) IN HIDING, perhaps dissimilated from *a·γa-ŋwantcï-*, itself nasalized from *a·γaŋwatcï-* (see § 16, 3). Its reduplicated forms are partly *a·γa-ŋwaŋwantcï-* (e. g. *a·'γaŋwaŋwantcïqaiva'* SEVERAL SHALL KEEP HIDDEN), partly *a·γaŋwa'watcï-* (e. g. *a·'γaŋwa'watcɪγïnɪ* HIDES ME SEVERAL TIMES); see § 58, 4, e.

(3) ASSIBILATION OF DENTALS. No dental consonant, aside from *n*, i. e. *t* and its derivatives *t'*, *r*, *R*, is, with very few exceptions, found before *i*. Comparison with other Shoshonean or Uto-Aztekan dialects shows that an original Shoshonean *ti* became assibilated to *tsi*, e. g. noun ending *-tsi-*: Tübatulabal and Southern Californian *-t*. Further, comparison shows that an original Shoshonean *ati* not only, in Southern Paiute, assibilates the *t* but also shifts the *i* to *ï*, whence *atcï*. Most Plateau dialects have *atï* in these cases, e. g.:

Shoshonean **ati* bow
> Bankalachi *a·li-t*,
Shikaviyam *ɛ'idï*,
Mono *ɛti*
S.P. *atcï-*

Shoshonean **pati* daughter
>N. Paiute *padï*
S.P. *patcï-* (original Shoshonean **patï* would have become **parï-*)

Hence S. Paiute *atsi* represents an old Shoshonean *atsi* with primary *ts*; e. g. contrast primary *patsi-* OLDER SISTER (cf. Cora *hatsi* OLDER BROTHER; Cora *h* often < *p*) with *patcï-* < **pati* DAUGHTER.

There are a small number of cases of true *-ri-* (not *-ri-* < *-rï-*; § 3, 2, b), but these may well represent a group of loan-words taken in subsequently to the operation of the above law, e. g. *mori·-* BEAN; *sari·-* DOG; *qïri'n'naŋqa-* SPARROW-HAWK.

Belonging to a distinct and probably more recent stratum than the primary *ts*, *tc* and the *ts*, *tc* developed from *t* before original *i* are examples of *tc* that arise whenever a non-geminated *t*, that would ordinarily be spirantized to *r* (see § 16, 1), stands after an *i*. In this stratum, which constitutes a living process, *t-* and *-r-*, *-tc-* constantly interchange. Examples are:

-rï- participle (§ 25, 6, a)
-ru- to make (§ 26, 1, d)
ivi-tcï- drinking
na-γa·'tcɪ-tcu- to turn oneself into a rat

-ru'a- interrogative (§ 19, 2, f)
-ruγwa- to (§ 50, 4, 30)
taŋwa-, -raŋwa- we (inclusive; § 39; § 40)
tami-, -rami- we 2 (inclusive; § 39; § 40)
tua-, -rua- child

pavi'-tcu'a-nɪ my brother?
sari·'tcɪ-tcux·WA to the dog
qa·'q·aχai-tcaŋWA we, while singing
qa·'χai-tcɑmɪ we 2, while singing
piχɪ'-tcu(w)a-ts· little pig

When *i* is preceded by a nasal consonant, the *-t-, -r-* develops to *-ntc-* (see § 16, 3), e. g. *qani-ntcu'a-* HOUSE?

Geminated *-t·-*, it should be carefully noted, does not assibilate to *-t·c-* after *i*, but remains, e.g. *tümp^{w}i'-t·u-* TO MAKE A STONE; *na'a'i-t·U'p^{w}ik:Uqwa'* HAS BURNT UP.

Nasalized *-nt-* also is regularly unaffected by a preceding *i*; e. g. *ɔv^{w}i'ntɔ'tsɪχa'* WOODEN-HEADED, *ɔv^{w}i'ntuv^{w}a·n·ɪ'* WILL MAKE WOOD, *ɔvi'ntu'ɑŋuntca·ŋA* HE BECAME A STICK. There is, however, a tendency for such cases of *-nt-* to become assibilated to *-ntc-*; e. g. *o(w)i'p·intcu-* to make a canyon (< *oi'p·i-^{n}*, see § 16, 3). In such cases the theoretical *-nt-* is sometimes even replaced by the "spirantal" form *-tc-*; e. g. *ɔvi'tcuq·WA* UNDER THE STICK (but also *ɔvi'ntuq·WA*).

After *ai-* TO SAY, *-t-, -r-* develops to *-ntc-*, not *-tc-*, e. g. *ai-ntcï-* SAYING. On the other hand, usitative *-mi-* (§ 30, 10) changes a following *-t-, -r-* to *-nt-*, not *-ntc-*, e. g. *ai-mi-ntï-* BEING WONT TO SAY; cf. *-γa-ntï-* HAVING < *-γai-* TO HAVE (§ 25, 6, a), *-q·a-ntï-* HAVING -ED < perfective *-q·ai-* (§ 25, 6, d). There are historical antecedents involved here which can be unraveled only by comparative evidence.

(4) PALATALIZATION. An *i* palatalizes a following *k-* sound, less frequently a dental or back-palatal nasal (*n, ŋ*). Acoustically this is manifested as a *y-* like affection of the consonant. It is indicated, in the case of back-palatals, by the symbol for anterior articulation (e. g. *k̲*, sounding approximately like *ky*); by a superior ^{y} in the case of *n*.

The *n^{y}* (approximately like Russian "soft" or mouillé *n*) appears most often between two *i-* vowels, particularly when the second is unvoiced, e. g. *maa'in·^{y}i-* TO TOUCH, *maa'in^{y}I^{x}k̲antï* HAVING TOUCHED.

The palatalized *ŋ* (approximately like French *gn*, possibly more posterior in articulation) is not very common, as the combination *-iŋ-* occurs only infrequently, e. g. *iŋa-* HE HERE.

The palatalized *k-* sounds are *k̲* < *k, q*; *k̲^{x}* (written *k^{x}*) < *k', q'*; *γ, χ* < *γ, χ*; *x̲* < *x*; *γw, χw* < *γw, χw*. *x̲* is practically identical with *ch* of German *ich*. *γ* is very close to *y*, but more spirantal in quality (less open or vocalic), possibly a shade less anterior in articu-

lation; it was practically never misheard as *y*. χ̣ is midway, in point of voicing, between χ (of which it is merely a variant) and χ̣.

Examples of palatalized *k*- sounds are:

-γai-, -χai- subordinating suffix	*avi'χa'* lying; *a'iχaic·U* as soon as (he) said
-q·ai- to have	*muvʷi'k̟·a'* to have a nose
qarï- to sit	*pïni'k̟·arï-* to sit and look
-q·ai- resultative suffix	*uŋwa'ɪk̟aɪpïγa'* was hanging
-γu-, -χu- subordinating suffix	*ivi'χu(w)αŋA* when he drank
-γw(a)'ai- to go	*ïmï'iχw'aip·ïγa'* several arrived

Rather infrequently is an initial *q*- palatalized to *k̟*- by the final *-i*, *-I* of the preceding word; e. g. *uvʷa'ŋWI k̟anɪ'ntcUqwainaφï* THEREIN HIS-OWN-MADE-HOUSE.

(5) TREATMENT OF γ. The back-guttural γ is apt to undergo various modifications, aside from unvoicing (§ 8), palatalization (4 above), and labialization (§ 14, 3, c).

(a) *Stopping to g.* In poetry γ is not infrequently stopped to *g* (the sonant correspondent of *q*). In prose this occurs when a final *-ŋ* of the preceding word comes, by elision of an initial vowel (see § 10, 3, end), to stand immediately before the *-γ-*, e. g. *a'ia·ŋ ïγïR* THAT-HE INDEED > *a'ia·ŋ g̈iR.*

(b) *Weakening or loss of* γ. An original γ is sometimes weakened to a glide ˠ or even entirely lost before or after an *u*- vowel, more often after an *i*- vowel. Vocalic contractions may then result (see § 4). Examples are:

na-γu'q·wɪ-ŋqï- to fight (lit., to shoot at each other < *quq·wɪ-* to shoot)	*naˠu'q·wɪŋqï-, na'uq·wɪŋqï-*
yauγwɪ- to enter	*ya·ᵘˠwɪ-*
ïγia- deer (*-γ-* may be glide, however; see § 14, 1)	*ï·'iαRïquαφI* deer-meat
ïγï'vï- friend	*ï·'vïnI* my friend
-ïγa-n·ɪa- adverbial element	*mava'iᶻtɪˠan·ɪ'* way off; *u'u'-raintïan·ɪ'* close towards it
tuγu- up (e. g. *tuγu'ntux·WA* upward)	**ïγï-, *ïγi- > ï·-, ïï-* up

(c) *Unvoicing to x in voiced position.* Even before a voiced vowel γ is sometimes heard not merely as an intermediate χ, with which it varies frequently, but as a fully unvoiced *x* (or lengthened *x·*); similarly γ > *x̟*. This sharpening seems to be frequent after an accented *a*, particularly in the neighborhood of a glottal stop, e. g.:

-'aγava-yu- right among	*a'a'xavaiYU* right in there
-γi- to come in order to	*yu'(w)a'xɪyαmï* come to take them away
-γw(a)'ai- to go in order to	*ya·'ᵃxwa'ᵃ* go to fetch; *yu'(w)-a'x·wɔ'aivä'* shall go to bring (them); *wara'x·ani·ᵛ'χwa'ᵃ* go to (another) house for grass-seeds (*wara-*)
-γum·a- male	*na(·)γa'x·'ɥm·aŋ'waq·U* together with mountain-sheep buck (obj.)
iya'vaγa- to fear	*iya'vaxan'namI* whom you feared

(6) VOCALIZATION OF SEMIVOWELS. The semivowels *y* and *w* are sometimes opened up to the corresponding vowels *i* and *u* (*ɔ*). Forms with glide *-i-* (§ 5, 1) are transitional; e. g. *-aya-* > *-a(i)ya-* > *-aia-*. Examples of *-y-* > *-i-* are:

nampa'-ya·ŋA his foot (obj.)	*nampa'ia·ŋA*
naŋa- anger + *y(a)'ai-* to die of > *naŋa'y'ai-* to be angry	*naŋa'i'ai-*

After an *i*, the *i* < *y* apparently disappears as such, fusing with the preceding vowel, e. g.:

tuq·wɪ- shame + *y(a)'ai-*	*tU'qwɪ''ai-* to be ashamed
tsɪ- with the point + *yauγwɪ-tca-* to cause several objects to enter	*tsia·'ᵘʏwɪtcAapïγa'* caused (them) to go in by pushing with the point (§ § 4, 1, a; 13, 5, b)

A *w* immediately following a back-palatal stop or *ŋ* is sometimes opened to *u* or still further, before *a*, to *ɔ* (cf. development of *-wa-* to *-wɔ-*, *-ɔ-*; § 3, a, 3), e. g.:

-ntcuq·w(-ruq·w) avi' under lies	*imi'ntcuq·u avi'* lies under thee; *aruq·ɔ avi'* lies under it
'ani''aŋw 'aik·ᵡA what-he said? > *-ŋ'wai-* (§ 7, 4, end)	*'ani''aŋ'ɔ aik·ᵡA*

(7) SIMPLIFICATION OF CONSONANTS. Here are grouped together a number of consonantal simplifications or partial losses of characteristic quality, found chiefly in sentence phonetics.

(a) *Simplification of affricatives.* A final *-ts·* (< *-tsi-*) or, less often, *-tcï* is sometimes reduced to *-t·*, *-t·ʻ* before a word beginning with a dental (*t, n*), less frequently before a word beginning with a labial, e. g.:

ɥnɪ'ŋuts· then	*ɥnɪ'ŋut· nɔntsɪ'k·ʊpïγaʻ* then flew off; *ɥnɪ'ŋut·ʻ maŋa'iac·ʊ* then him
ïvʷi'ts· very	*ïvʷi't· tuγwa'r'ɯɪŋʊpïγaʻ* it got very dark; *ïvʷɪt· nïvʷa'uŋwap·ï-γaʻ* (it) snowed very much
-pantcï kinds of	*man·ɔ'q·ˣɔpant· pa'a'vɪŋw amʻ* all the kinds of animals
i'tcï this	*i't·ï'ʻqa·'q·ᴀ* eat this! (< *i'tcï tï'ʻqa·'q·ᴀ*)

An internal *-tsɪ-* is sometimes reduced to *-t·ɳ-*, *-tɳ-* before *n* (see § 3, 2, c):

wɪ'ʻtsɪ't·sɪnɪ my great-grandchild	*wɪ'ʻtsɪ't·ɳ(n)ɪ*
na'a'ints·tsɪnɪᴀ like a girl	*na'a'ints·tɳnɪᴀ*

(b) *Assimilation of -ʀ to n-.* This happens only rarely, e. g.:

yu'un aʀ(ï) my leg	*yu'un an nantsɪ'n'aŋqïx·ɪ* come and joint my leg

(c) *Loss of labialization.* Before an *u* or *ɔ* of the following word a final *-qw-*, *-γw-*, *-ŋw-* is apt to lose its *w* (cf. simplification of *wɔ* < *wa* after back-palatal stops to *ɔ*; § 3, 1, c). Examples are:

-raŋw(a-) we	*ïvʷï'raŋ ɥnɪ'ŋuts·* let us then
-'q·w(a-) it	*aŋa''q· uvʷaiʻ* who is it then?
pina'ŋqw(a-) soon	*pina'ŋq 'o'ᵘ* soon so

Final *-x·w* sometimes melts with following *qw-* to *-q·w-* (cf. § 8, 1, g), e. g.:

i(y)ɛ't·ux·wᴀ qwauʻ hither off	*i(y)ɛ't·uq·wauʻ*

(8) ASSIMILATION OF SIBILANTS. When two successive syllables contain sibilants of different articulation (*s, ts*: *c, tc*; see § 12, 2, h),

assimilation generally results either to the *s- or c-* position. The following types of sibilant assimilation have been observed.

(a) *Assimilation of s—c* to *s—s*. This seems to be rare. An example is *Asɪ'-s·aγwa-* LIGHT BLUE (contrast *-ɪc·a-* of *qwɪc·a-* TO SPARK).

(b) *Assimilation of s—tc* to *c—tc*. This also is not common. A good example is *cɪtcu-* NAIL < *sitcu-* < **situ-* (cf. Kawaiisu *-cito-*).

(c) *Assimilation of ts—c* to *tc—c* or *ts—s*. Generally *ts—s* appears, e. g.:

-tsi-c·u-, -ts·-cu- (§ 35; § 19, 2, k) *-tsɪs·u-, -ts·su-*: *pɪ'ɬ̠a'xu-navïtsɪs·uaŋA* only his little rawhide bag; *tu(w)a'ts·sunɪ* only my son

-tsi(-ts·)-campa- (§ 19, 2, j) *tïvʷɪ'ts·sampA* truly

Yet *tc—c* also seems to occur, e. g. *sari·'tcɪc·unɪ* ONLY MY DOG < *sari·'tsɪ-c·u-*.

(d) *Assimilation of tc—s to tc—c*. This uncommon type is illustrated, e. g., in *tca·'c·ɪχ̠anɪ* MENSTRUAL HUT (for more normal *-as·ɪ-* contrast *as·ɪa·-* SURFACE).

(e) *Assimilation of ts—tc* to *tc—tc* (*ts—ts*). The normal *tc—tc* assimilation, which occurs very frequently, is illustrated in:

-tsi- noun suffix + *-tcu'a-* interrogative *a'ip·atcɪtcu'a* a boy?

-tsi- + *-tcu-* to make *naγa·'tcɪtcʊqwaŋumpa'* will turn (them)selves into rats

-tsi- + *-tca-* preterital enclitic *mam·a''utcɪtca·ŋA* woman did—him

-tsi- diminutive + *-tcï-* participle *avi'tcɪtcɪA* little lying (obj.), little ridge

The less frequent assimilation to *ts—ts* is probably regular when the primary *ts* is initial, e. g. *ts·-tsa'ŋkɪ'a-* TO CARRY ON A POLE (*tsɪ-* WITH THE POINT, § 21, 9). Moreover, subordinating *-tsi-* (§ 55, 1, a), unlike diminutive *-tsi-* or nominal *-tsi-* (cf. above examples), seems regularly to maintain itself and to assimilate following *tc* to *ts*, e. g.:

ɥɲɪ'-tsɪ- having so done, then + *-tcaŋwa-* we *ɥɲɪ'tsɪtsaŋwA* then we

-vä·-tsi- future gerund (§ 55, 1, a) + *-tca-* preterital enclitic	*aγa'nɪvä'tsɪtsaŋwa'* thou, intending to act how, didst—him?

(f) *Assimilation of c—ts to s—ts.* Evidence for this seems to be rather scanty. An example is *mi̯nï's·'its·* SEVERAL HAVING RETURNED < *mi̯nï'c·'ɪ-*.

(g) *Unassimilated forms.* The frequent sequence *tc—ts* seems normally to remain unaffected, e. g. *qa'iva·vɪtcɪtsɪŋWï* KAIBAB PAIUTES (lit., MOUNTAIN-LYING PEOPLE, PLATEAU PEOPLE). When the *ts* is final, however, assimilated *tc—tc* seems to be not uncommon, e. g. *Uqu'v^{w}ɪtcatc'* BUG (sp.).

Sporadic unassimilated forms for the assimilated types enumerated above also occur.

§ 14. *Glide consonants.*

Consonantal glides are frequent after the high vowels (*i, ï, u*). The semivowels *y* and *w* act as glides after *i* and *u* respectively, *γ* after *ï*. A weakly articulated *γ*, such as the *γ-* glide always is, is really a high-back unrounded semivowel, corresponding to *ï* precisely as *w* does to *u*.

(1) GLIDE *γ*. This glide, often represented as *ˠ* when only weakly articulated, is rather common between a primary *ï* and a following vowel. Even *ï·*, when resolved to *ïï* (see § 4, 2, b), may develop to *ïˠï*, *ïγï*. Examples are:

ïa- to plant	*ïˠa'p·ɪ* planted, corn
pïa- relative	*pïˠa'nɪ* my relative
nïa'-rï- wind	*nɪγa'RÏ*
-yï- present tense + *-amï-* them	*nɪa'(i)yïˠαmïnɪ* I call them
yïï- doorway	*yïˠï'va'* at the doorway
ïi'a- deer (e. g. *pa-rï'ia-* water-deer, elk)	*ïïˠi'a-* deer (generally so heard)

Curious is *nï'u(γw)a'mɪ* IN FRONT OF ME, in which *-γ-* is a glide consonant after *ï*, *-w-* after *u* (see 3 below).

(2) GLIDE *Y*. This occurs very frequently between *i* (*ɪ*) and a following vowel, e. g.:

qwac·ɪ- tail + *-aŋA* his	*qWA'cɪ'yaŋA* his tail
pu'ɪ- eye + *-'ai-* not to have	*pu'ɪ'y'ait·ï* having no eyes

tümp^{w}ɪ(a-) rock (obj.) + *uru'-q·wA* under it — *tümp^{w}ɪ'y uruq·wA* under the rock

Sporadically a weakly articulated *y* (indicated ^{y}) occurs initially before *i*; e. g. *^{y}i'mI* THOU < *i'mI*.

(3) GLIDE *w*. Labial glides are very frequent and are found in three distinct groups of cases.

(a) *Glide w between vowels.* After a primary *u* (*o*) a *w*, indicated as ^{w} if weak, often slips in before an immediately following vowel. If the second vowel is voiceless, the *w*- glide is unvoiced to *w*. Examples are:

tua- son — *tuwa'tsɪnI* my son
-γu- subordinating suffix + *-aŋa-* he — *ivi'χuwαŋA* when he drank
pu'ɪ eye — *pu'^{w}ɪ-*
-u(w)ɪt·uγwa- before — *nïo'(w)ɪtux·wA* before me

The use of *-w-* as glide seems incidentally to serve as criterion of the difference between a true *ui* diphthong and a dissyllabic *u* + *i*. Thus, with *-u(w)ɪ't·uγwa* above contrast causative *-t·ui-* with diphthongal *ui* (rarely, if ever, *uwi*).

(b) *Rounded labials.* Bilabial consonants (*p*, *p'*, *v*, *ɸ*, *m*) are normally pronounced with unrounded lips. Under certain conditions, however, they are pronounced with *w*- position of the lips. This position may bring about a slight ^{w}- glide between the labial and the following vowel. Several groups of cases are to be noted.

Initially *m^{w}-*, sometimes heard exaggerated into *^{u}m^{w}-* or even *um^{w}-*, is found in demonstrative two-moraed *m^{w}a'-*, *m·^{w}a'-*, THAT (see § 43); possibly this *m^{w}a'-* is developed from an older *uma'-* > *um^{w}a'-* (see below). An initial *m^{w}-* also sometimes develops before an immediately following *ï*; e. g. *m^{w}ïm^{w}i-* YE.

A medial *-m^{w}-* develops regularly after primary *ï*, *ɪ*. When the vowel following the *-m^{w}-* is unvoiced, the ^{w}- glide is also unvoiced (^{w}). Examples are *nïm^{w}i-* WE (exclu.); *cim^{w}ïa-* TO LET GO; *tï'm^{w}a-* TO ROAST; *ani'ntcïm^{w} i'mï* (ARE) DOING THESE (ANIM.); *co·'v^{w}antïm^{w}ï* OTHERS; *m^{w}ï'm^{w}I* YE.

A medial *-m^{w}-* also often develops after *u*(*o*), e. g.:

u- demonstrative + *-ma-ntï-* being, at, from — *um^{w}α'ntï* therefrom

u- + animate plural *-mï-*	*ųm^{w}u-* they
-ŋu- momentaneous suffix + *-mıA* usitative	*wa'a'ŋıŋum^{w}ıA* is wont to shout

Medial *-p·-*, *-mp-* are frequently rounded to *-p·^{w}-*, *-mp^{w}-* (unvoiced *-p·^{w}-*, *-mp-^{w}*) after *u* or *ï*. This seems to take place particularly before *i*, whose timbre contrasts most clearly with that of *p^{w}*. Examples are *tümp^{w}i-* ROCK (*tü'mp^{w}ı*); *tU'p^{w}i'-* TO BE LEFT OVER; *tU'p^{w}a'q·ı-* TO EMERGE; *ump^{w}i'c·AcampA* JUST FOR FUN.

After *ï* or *u*, *v* is inner-rounded. The result, written *v^{w}*, is not *v* + ^{w}- glide but a bilabial *v* with inner rounding, a sound acoustically midway between *v* and *w*. It is phonetically related to *w* very much as *χ* is to *y*. Before voiceless vowels *v^{w}* is unvoiced to *ϕ^{w}*. Examples are *ïv^{w}a'ts·* WOLF, *nïv^{w}a'tcux·wA* TO ME, *ïv^{w}ı'ts·* VERY, *ïv^{w}ï''* GO AHEAD!, *nï'^{u}ϕ^{w}A* AT ME; *uv^{w}a''a·x·I* OVER IT, *qanı'ntcuv^{w}a·n·ı'* WILL MAKE A HOUSE, *oϕ^{w}A* THEN.

(c) *Labialization of k-sounds.* Labialized *k-* sounds (*qw*, *qW*, *γw*, *xW*) are either primary or arise secondarily by the intrusion of a *w*-glide due to a preceding *u* (*o*) or *ɔ*. Examples of labialized *k-* sounds due to *u* (*o*) are:

-ŋu- momentaneous suffix + *-q·ai-* perfective	*ts·pi'ŋUqwa'* has appeared
ïv^{w}i-ŋu- to ask + *-ŋqai-* subordinating suffix	*ïv^{w}i'ŋuŋqwa'aiŋwA* as (he) asked him (for breaking of *-ŋqwai-* to *-ŋqwa'ai-* see § 15, 2, a)
ïv^{w}i-ŋu- + *-q·a-* plural subject	*ïv^{w}i'ŋUqwai'* several ask; absolute *ïv^{w}i'ŋuq·wA*
uŋwa'c·u- he + *-γain·ıa-* too	*uŋwa'c·uγwain·ıA* he too
o·- arrow + *-γai-* to have	*o·'γwaivätcï* wont to have an arrow
qo·- + *-γa-* to make a sound	*qo·'x·wApïγain·ı'* there was a whirring sound as of wings

Examples of *k-* sounds labialized by preceding *ɔ* are:

aγɔ- tongue + *-ŋqai-* to have	*aγɔ'ŋqwa'* to have a tongue
nɔ·- to carry on one's back + *-γı-* to come in order to	*nɔ·'γwınI* come to carry me on (your) back!
nɔ·- + *-q·ı-* to come —ing	*nɔ·'q·wI* to come carrying on one's back

An initial ' is rarely labialized to 'w, xw by the final ï, ĭ of a preceding word; e. g. *tɔ'ɔ'ivï xwai'* BULRUSHES (obj.) THEM < *tɔ'ɔi'vï 'ai'*.

§ 15. *The Glottal Stop.*

(1) TYPES OF GLOTTAL STOP. Glottal stops occur very frequently in Southern Paiute. They are rarely exaggerated in articulation, however, and are often quite easily missed. The glottal stop may function as an integral element of a stem (e. g. *'ayu-* TO BE GOOD, *sa'a-* TO BOIL) or grammatical element (e. g. *-γw'ai-* TO GO IN ORDER TO, *-n'ni-* continuative); as in itself a grammatical process occurring alone (e. g. dubitative -', § 19, 2, n; -'- to indicate momentaneous activity, § 53, 2, a, 3), with such grammatical processes as gemination and reduplication (§ 53, 2, b; § 58, 3 and 4) or in connection with certain enclitics, chiefly pronominal (e. g. -' . . . .*-mi-* THY, THEE); in certain circumstances to separate vowels brought together by composition (§ 16, 2); in final position after perfective *-(n)tca-* and *-γwa-* and after independent personal pronouns preceding verbs of doing and being (§ 5, 3). The last group of cases may be considered as inorganic or non-functional. The first group of cases may be defined as involving an "inherent" glottal stop, the second and third an "accessory" glottal stop. The distinction is important phonetically, inasmuch as a syllable containing an "inherent" glottal stop counts for two moras whether its vowel is short or long, while a short-voweled syllable with "accessory" glottal stop counts for only one mora (see § 8, 1, a, end; 2, a, end; § 9, end). Outwardly these two types of glottal stop are identical, but they probably belong to quite distinct historical strata, the "accessory" group no doubt representing a later development or influencing of the word form. Rarely there is evidence to show that an "inherent" glottal stop may arise by way of compensation for the loss of a vowel. This seems to be true, at least, of *na'ŋ'wA'-tsɪŋwï* FATHER ABD SON (< reciprocal *na-* + *-ŋwo'Atsɪ-*, spirantized form (see § 16, 1, end) of *-mo'a-t·sɪ-* FATHER), *nana'ŋ'wa't·sɪŋwï* FATHERS AND SONS (< plural reciprocal *nana'-* + *-ŋwoa'-t·sɪ-* < *moa'-t·sɪ-*).

(2) MOVABILITY OF GLOTTAL STOP. A puzzling and often disconcerting peculiarity of the glottal stop, apart from initial and final position, is its movability. The phonetic consciousness attaches it to a certain syllable, but within that syllable it may shift about with considerable freedom. In part this movability is conditioned

by accentual factors (§ 10, 2), but much of it is purely optional. The glottal stop may even spill over into the end of or body of the preceding syllable or into the beginning of the following syllable. Thus, the syllable *-y'ai-* TO DIE of such a word as *taγv·'-y'ai-ƛ̂·a-* SEVERAL ARE THIRSTY may appear with its ' immediately preceding its own syllable (*-'yai-*); immediately following its initial consonant (*-y'ai-*; it may appear immersed in stops, affricatives, or nasals —see b below); breaking the first vowel of the diphthong (*-ya'ai-*; from this type of glottal affection may develop a glottalized vowel, see a below, e. g. *-yȧi-*); making a hiatus between the two vowels of the diphthong (*-ya'i-* or *-ya'^{i}-* with murmured *i*); closing its syllable (*-yai'-*); or glottally affecting the initial consonant of the following syllable (*-yaiƛ̂·a-*). Hence it might be more appropriate to speak of the glottal affection of a syllable than of a glottal stop. The type *y'ai'-* or *ya''ai-* may be considered the norm.

(a) *Broken vowels and diphthongs.* Broken vowels are extremely frequent. They are due to either an inherent glottal stop (e. g. *si'i-* TO URINATE) or to the secondary operation of an accessory one (e. g. *qani''imɪ* THY HOUSE < *qani-* HOUSE). Either the first or second part of the broken vowel may be stressed or relatively stressed; the unstressed part, particularly if second, tends to be murmured (*a''a* > *a''^{a}*, *a'a'* > *^{a}'a'*). The type *^{a}'a'* is particularly frequent in initial position, the type *a'^{a}* in final position. A broken diphthong is one whose first vowel is broken (e. g. *a'a'ura‘*, *^{a}'a'ura‘* TOWARDS IT < *a-* IT + *-'u'ra‘* TOWARDS).

Examples of vowels and diphthongs broken by an accessory glottal stop are:

paa'- aunt + *-' . . .mi-* thy	*paa''amɪ* thy aunt
-p·ïγai- remote past	*qarï'p·ïγa'aimï* they two sat
-na- verbal noun suffix + *-' . . . ŋwa-* his	*ampa'γana'aŋwᴀ* his talking
-q·ai- resultative suffix + *-' . . . q·wa-* it	*pi̯ni'ƛ̂·a'aik·wᴀ* see it

(b) *Glottalization of consonants and vowels.* A glottalized consonant may be defined as a welding of the consonant or, more rarely, vowel with a glottal stop into a composite sound of unified acoustic effect. Only the stopped consonants, *m*, *n*, and *ŋw* form such glottalized units; in the case of the other consonants, the ' immediately follows or precedes (e. g. *-'yï-* or *-y'ï-* < *-yï-* present tense + accessory ').

A glottalized *m* or *n* is simply a long nasal interrupted for a moment by glottal closure: *m'm, n'n*; in glottalized *ŋw* the ' slips in between the *ŋ* and *w*: *ŋ'w*. The glottalized stops and affricatives (*ṗ, ṫ, q̇, q̇w, ṫc, ṫs*) are pronounced with simultaneous oral and glottal closure. The release of the two closures is simultaneous also. This makes them far more difficult to perceive than the snappy glottalized consonants ("fortes") of so many other American languages, in which the glottal release is subsequent to that of the oral closure. Glottalized consonants result from either an inherent or accessory glottal stop; the glottal stop of the glottalized consonant generally belongs to its own syllable, sometimes to a following syllable, less often preceding one. Examples are:

tca'aiḵ·ai- to hold + *-yï-* present tense + *-' . . . q·wa-* it	*tca'a'iḵ·ai'yïq·wA* holds it
-q·ai- perfective + *-n·a-* verbal noun + *-' . . .ŋwa-* his	*tïnɪ'aŋqïq̇·ain'naŋwA* his having told to (him)
uvʷit·u- to sing a song + *-m'mɪa-*, *-m·ɪ'a-* along	*uvʷi'ṫ·u'mɪai'* sings along
-v'antuγwa- on	*'am·u'vʷ'anṫux·wA* on them

The movability of the glottal stop is well illustrated in the forms *nï-cï'tcaŋwa'i-χa'* TEASING A PERSON, *cïtca'ŋ'waiyïaŋA* TEASES HIM, *cïṫca'ŋwaip·ïγa'aimï* FOOLED THEM.

By a glottalized vowel, e. g. *a̋*, is meant one that is articulated while continuously interrupted by a rapid series of weak glottal stops or, probably more correctly, cordal tightenings that approximate glottal closure. Sometimes the glottalized vowel sounds like a fairly definitely articulated "glottal *r*," at other times it seems to correspond to what German writers on phonetics term "Pressstimme." The glottalized vowel may occur as an abbreviated substitute for the broken vowel or as an anticipatory glottal affection immediately preceding a more sharply articulated glottal stop, e. g. *pïni'ḵ·aip·ïa̋'a* DID NOT SEE.

(c) *Over-glottalization.* What is morphologically a single glottal stop often manifests itself twice or even three times in the course of a word. Several examples have already illustrated this. Further examples are:

cu(w)a- nearly + *-y'ai-* to die	*cu(w)a'(i)'y'aip·ïγa'* nearly died
uvʷa·- there + *-yu-* post-position + *-' . . .mï-* they	*uvʷa̋·''(i)y'umï* there they

qanintcu- to build a house + *nam·ï'χa'nintcuxwa'ᵃ* first go to
-χwa'ai- to go in order to build a house

The over-glottalization, though rarely, may even manifest itself in the immediately preceding word; e. g. *qa'nɪ u'a'xarux·wᴀ* RIGHT THROUGH THE HOUSE (properly *qanɪa-*, obj.); similarly *qa'nɪ' aura'* HOUSE TOWARDS IT < *qanɪ' a'u'ra'*, the glottal stop separating *a* and *u* being here so faint that it escaped perception, while the intrusive ' of *qa'nɪ* was distinctly audible.

In such an example as *-r'ɔaŋ'a'amɪ* HE—THEE? the ' after *ŋ* is intrusive, caught, as it were, between the ' of interrogative *-r'ɔ-* and the ' of *-aŋa'a-*, broken, by -' . . *.mi-* THEE, from *-aŋa-* HE.

(d) *Contraction.* On the other hand, two organically distinct glottal stops may, though far less frequently, merge into a single one; e. g.:

-p·a'na- on + -' . . *.mï-* they *tümpʷi'p·a'namï* on a stone they
-ru'a- interrogative + -' thou *-ru'ᵃ* thou? (see § 40, 2).

§ 16. *Treatment of Consonants in Composition.*

A word must begin with either a vowel (which may be preceded by ') or one of the following nine consonants: *p, t, q* (*k*), *qw* (*kw*), *tc* (*ts*), *c* (*s*), *m, n,* ' . When these consonants, by the processes of derivation and composition, take up a medial position and are immediately preceded by a vowel, voiced or unvoiced, they assume, in part, one of three distinct forms. These are summarized in tabular form:

Initial	*Spirantized*	*Geminated*	*Nasalized*
p-	*-v-*	*-p·-*	*-mp-*
t-	*-r-*(*-tc-*,*-ntc-*)	*-t·-*	*-nt-* (rarely *-ntc-*)
q- (*k-*)	*-γ-*	*-q·-* (*-k·-*)	*-ŋq-* (*-ŋk-*)
qw- (*kw-*)	*-γw-*	*-q·w-* (*-k·w-*)	*-ŋqw-* (*-ŋkw-*)
tc- (*ts-*)	*-tc-*, *-ntc-* (*-ts-*, *-nts-*)	*-t·c-* (*-t·s-*)	*-ntc-* (*-nts-*)
c- (*s-*)		*-c·-* (*-s·-*)	
m-	*-ŋw-*	*-m·-*	(*-m·-*)
n-		*-n·-*	(*-n·-*)

The glottal stop undergoes no change; *c* (*s*) has neither spirantal nor nasalized development; *n*, at least as far as can be inferred from

Paiute itself, has no spirantal development; for *m* and *n* there is no distinction between nasalization and gemination.

Two factors are operative in the determination of the form that a consonant takes in medial position. In the first place, certain elements (suffixes and enclitics) always appear with consistently spirantized, geminated, or nasalized consonant, regardless of the stem or morphological element that precedes; e. g. *-γa-* durative suffix, *-q·u-* numeral objective suffix, *-ŋqï-* indirective suffix TO, FOR. On the other hand, all stems and many suffixes appear in either two or, more often, three forms according to the nature of the preceding stem or suffix. The initial consonants of suffixes that appear in two distinct forms are either spirantized or, less frequently, nasalized; e. g. future *-va·n·ıa-* (as in *ivi'va·n·ıa-* WILL DRINK, *-q·ava·n·ıa-* SEVERAL WILL —) and *-mpa·n·ıa-* (as in *ivi'ŋumpa·n·ıa-* WILL TAKE A DRINK, *ivi'm·ımpa·n·ıa-* WILL BE WONT TO DRINK). As a rule, the nasalization in this class of elements is due to the presence of a nasal in the preceding syllable. Much more typical is threefold alternation, which affects all stems and many suffixes. Here the deciding factor is the nature of the preceding stem or suffix, which, as far as a descriptive analysis of Paiute is concerned, must be credited, as part of its inner form, with an inherent spirantizing, geminating, or nasalizing power (respectively indicated, where necessary, as $-^{s}$, $-^{g}$, and $-^{n}$). Thus, the same adjectival verb suffix appears in spirantal form in *aŋqa'-γa-* TO BE RED, geminated in *qʊ'tca'-q·a-* TO BE GRAY, and nasalized in *paï'-ŋqa-* TO BE SMOOTH; the stems may be respectively indicated as *aŋqa-*^{s}, *qut·ca-*^{g}, *paï-*^{n}. On the other hand, the element *-γa-*, *-q·a-*, *-ŋqa-* is consistently spirantizing (schematic form *-qa-*^{s}), e. g. in participial *aŋqaγa-rï-*, *qʊ'tca'q·a-rï-*, *paï'ŋqa-rï-*. The participial *-rï-* is itself capable of appearing in geminated (*-t·ï-*) and nasalized (*-ntï-*) form as well under the appropriate circumstances (e. g. *-'ai-t·ï-* NOT HAVING, *NUˣqwi'-ntï-* STREAMING). Thus, for purposes of derivation and composition one needs to know always whether a given stem or suffix is one that spirantizes, geminates, or nasalizes. As to the historical background of these processes, Paiute itself reveals comparatively little. A thorough study of comparative Shoshonean linguistics would probably make them historically intelligible.

(1) SPIRANTIZATION. It is plausible, from what comparative evidence is available, that spirantization arose typically when an element or stem whose initial consonant represents no process of contraction was affixed to an element or stem whose final vowel

represents its original ending. Original ungeminated stops and *-m-* regularly became spirantized between vowels. There is some comparative evidence to show that *c* (*s*) and *n* originally alternated with *-'-* and zero respectively as their spirantal developments, but this is not deducible from Paiute itself and so does not concern us. "Spirantized" *-tc-*, *-ts-* can be most convincingly differentiated from geminated *-t·c-*, *-t·s-* by the failure of weak moras to lose their voice before it. The secondary *-tc-* *-ntc-* arising from a theoretical *-r-* (ungeminated *-t-*) have already been discussed (see § 13, 3). Examples of *-v-*, *-r-* (*-tc-*; after syllable with nasal, *-ntc-*), *-tc-* (after syllable with nasal, *-ntc-*), *-ts-* (after syllable with nasal, *-nts-*), *-γ-*, and *-γw-*, as results of spirantization are:

na-^{s} reciprocal + *pavi-* elder brother	*nava'vɪŋwï* brothers
ma-^{s} with the hand + *-patcï'a-* to fasten	*mava'tcï'aɪ̈* fastens
Shoshonean **(h)ipi-* to drink (cf. Mono *hibi-*)	*ivi-* to drink
aï-^{s} new + *taï'*^{ɪ} shirt	*aï'raï'*^{ɪ} new shirt
cu(w)a-^{s} nearly + *tUp*^{w}*i'k·u-* to be used up	*cu(w)a'RUp*^{w}*ik·Upï'γa* was nearly used up
Shoshonean **katï-* to sit (cf. Hopi *gatö*)	*qarï-* to sit
iyɔvi-^{s} mourning dove + *tua-* child	*iyɔvɪtcuatc* little mourning dove
qan·ɪ-^{s} house + *tua-*	*qan·ɪ'ntcuats·* little house
a·-^{s} quietly + *tca'aiɣ·ai-* to hold	*a·'tca'aiɣ·a* to hold quietly
na-^{s} reciprocal + *tcaq·aitsɪ-* younger brother	*nantca'q·aitsɪŋwï* brothers
-p·ï-^{s} past + *-tsɪ-*^{s} diminutive	*qa·'p·ïtsɪχa* a little fellow sang
tïŋqanɪ-^{s} cave + *-tsɪ-* diminutive	*tïŋqa'nɪntsɪA* little cave (obj.)
qanɪ-^{s} house + *-kai-* to have	*qanɪ'χai-* to have a house
cï·-^{s} squaw-bush + *qaitcɔx·U* hat	*cï·'γaitcɔx·U* woman's basket cap
Shoshonean **maka-* to give (cf. Mono *maki*)	*maγa-* to give
nam·ï-^{s} first + *qwaviŋu-* to camp over night	*nam·ï'χwaviŋu-* to camp over night first
qaiva-^{s} mountain + *qwitcu v*^{w}*aRï* peak	*qa'ivaγwitcuv*^{w}*aRï* mountain peak

Shoshonean **tuka-* night (cf. Luiseño *duku-mit*)	*tuγwa'nU* night

While the spirantizations illustrated above are live processes, that of *m* to *-ŋw-*, though abundantly enough illustrated in the material, seems to have spent its force, as in the more evident compounds and derivatives *-m-* is used even after spirantizing stems and elements; e. g. *na-m·a'ŋwɪcava'amï* TWO SHALL PUSH EACH OTHER (cf. *na-^{s}* above), *pïŋqa'muntun'ɪ'ɬ̨aip·ïγa'* KEPT LYING COVERED UP (< *pïŋqa-^{s}* CONTINUOUSLY). Sometimes *-m-* and *-ŋw-* forms are distributed in other than a purely phonetic manner. Examples of *-ŋw-* < *-m-* are:

moa- father	*na'ŋ'wA'tsɪŋwï* father and son
maγa- to give	*naŋwa'γa-* to pay (lit., to give each other)
ma-^{s} with the hand + *-mïn'ïc·ɪ-* to turn, roll over	*ma-ŋwï'n'ïcɪ-ŋqï-* to roll one over
ta-m·ï''ɥna·-ŋqï- to dig out by poking with one's foot	*ma-ŋwï''ɥna·-ŋqï-* to dig out with one's hands
m^{w}ïmɪ- you (plur.)	*-ŋwïmɪ-, -ŋumɪ-* your, you (obj.) (as enclitic element, see § 40)
-ma- on	*-ŋwa-* on (with pronouns, see § 50, 4, 8)
-mɪ-t·uγwa- to	*-ŋwɪ-t·uγwa-* to (chiefly with pronominal stems, see § 50, 4, 14)
-mï- animate plural (see § 48, 1, a)	*-ŋwï-* animate plural (see § 48, 1, b)
Shoshonean **tama-* tooth (cf. Fernandino *-tama*)	*taŋwa-* tooth
Shoshonean **sama-* (cf. Gitanemuk *hama-t* grass, Cahuilla *samu-t*)	*saŋwa'-ϕI* sagebrush
Shoshonean **tamï* we (cf. Hopi *i·-tamö*)	*taŋwA, -raŋwA* we

(2) GEMINATION. As we have already seen, intervocalic *n* and *c* (*s*) are always geminated or long, regardless of etymological considerations; e. g. *mA'ci'q·ɪaiyïnI* MY HANDS ARE COLD (cf. *ma-^{s}* HAND above). Geminated *-m·-* also has largely supplanted spirantized *-ŋw-* (see 1 above). How geminated intervocalic consonants arose is not clear. In part gemination is a grammatical process (e. g. *ivi-* TO DRINK < Shoshonean *ipi-*: *^{v}i'p·i-* TO DRINK REPEATEDLY); see § 58, 4, a, c-f. In general, however, we can not yet tell what brought

about the geminating power of certain stems and elements and the presence of geminated consonants in the body of stems. The contrast between intervocalic geminated and ungeminated consonants is doubtless an original Shoshonean feature, as indicated by comparative evidence. Examples of *-p·-*, *-t·-*, *-t·c-*, *-t·s-*, *-q·-* (*-k·-*), and *-q·w-* (*-k·w-*), as results of gemination are:

ta-^{g} with the foot + *pantu-* to shake	*tA'pa'ntui'* shakes with the foot
nɔ·-^{g} to carry on one's back	*nɔ·'p·aγai-* to carry from place to place; *nɔ·'q·ava'* pack-horse
i·-^{g} beforehand + *ïiq·a-* to eat	*i·'t·ï'qai'* eats beforehand
ïina·-^{g} to hunt + *ïiγa·-* to tell what to do	*ïina'Aïiγa·Rï* hunting-leader
qï-^{g} with the teeth	*qï'tcɔ'χw'a.i'* chews
wat·cɪ'- to catch up with	*WA'tcɪ'ŋUpïγa'* caught up with (contrast *watcï'-* to put)
wɪt·ca'- to tie; *wɪt·ca'-* bee	*WI'tca'i'* ties; *WI'tca'-ϕI* bee (contrast *witca'-ϕI* calf of leg)
qu-^{g} with fire	*qU'tsɪ'k·iva'* will burn
qï-^{g} with the teeth + *qoi'na-* to take off one object	*qï'qo'i'nai'* takes off with the teeth
pa(i)yɪ-^{g} to return + *-ki-* hither	*pa(i)yɪ'k·i'* comes back
Shoshonean **tuk·u-* panther (cf. Luiseño *dukwu-t*)	*tu'q·U* panther
tsɪt·sɪ'-^{g} (reduplicated) with a point iteratively	*ts·tsɪ'k·wɪyui'* scrapes wavy lines
ta-^{g} with the foot	*tA^{z}qwa·'^{a}q·ai-* to hold down with one's foot

There is some reason to believe, though the evidence is not conclusive, that geminating stems or elements followed by a stem beginning with a vowel insert a glottal stop; e. g. *i·''A'pïi-* TO SLEEP BEFOREHAND (see *i·-^{g}* above). However, it is evident that elements differ about the treatment of their final vowel before vowels, some contracting, others inserting a ' . Thus, both *ma-^{s}* and *ta-^{g}* combine directly with a following vowel; e. g. *maa'in·i-* TO TOUCH and *taa'in·i-* TO TOUCH WITH THE FOOT, *tauŋwai-* TO HANG BY THE FEET (cf. *uŋwai-* TO HANG). On the other hand, *ïi(·)'-^{n}* WELL takes a ' after it; e. g. *ïi''A'pïi-* TO SLEEP WELL.

(3) NASALIZATION. Nasalized consonants occur intervocalically as a result of the nasalizing power of a stem or element; as the result of reduplicating stems with interior nasal (e. g. *qaŋqa'n·ɪ-* HOUSES < *qan·ɪ-* HOUSE; see § 58, 2, d); and internally in stems and elements from obscure causes (in part these internal nasalizations may be due to the assimilatory influence of a preceding nasal: e. g. *naŋqava-* EAR from Shoshonean **naka-*, cf. Hopi *nak^{u}ve*, though elision of *-a-* in parallel Shoshonean **nanaka-*, cf. Gabrielino *-nanax*, may be a preferable explanation; yet internal nasalization sometimes appears where comparative evidence gives no apparent reason for it, e. g. *tuγu'mpa-* sky, cf. Möhineyam *duguba-t*, Gabrielino *tukupa-r*, yet also Tübatulabal *dogumba-l*).

Nasalized consonants that result from the nasalizing power of a preceding element may be grouped into three classes: 1. *-ntc-* (*-nts-*) that results from a *-tc-* (*-ts-*), original or itself developed from *-t-* (see § 13, 3), that is either inherently "spirantal" or rather ungeminated (e. g. *-tca-* preterital) or "spirantized" by a preceding stem or element, provided there is a nasal consonant in the syllable preceding the *-tc-* (*-ts-*) (this type is not properly "nasalized" at all, but is merely a secondarily nasalized development of the spirantized group; see 1 above); 2. nasalized stops (and affricatives) that alternate with spirantized, but not geminated, consonants and that seem to occur primarily, but not altogether, when the preceding syllable contains a *-ŋ-* or *-ŋw-* (e. g. agentive *-vi-*, *-mpi*, alternating in *nɔ·-vi-* CARRIER, *taŋa-mpi-* KICKER); 3. nasalized stops (and affricatives) that alternate with spirantized and geminated consonants. The primary cause for the nasalization in the last group is generally obscure. The presence of an interior nasal in the stem may be the cause in some cases (e. g. *taŋwa-^{n}* TOOTH). Elision of a syllable containing a nasal is demonstrable in a small number of cases (e. g. *pa'a-^{n}* TO BE HIGH, participle *pa'antï-*; cf. parallel *pa'an·i-*). In cases like usitative *-mia-*, *-mi-^{n}*; *-kai-* TO HAVE, participle *-kantï-*; perfective *-q·ai-*, participle *-q·antï-* one suspects Shoshonean **-mina-*, **-kani-*, **-q·ani-* with ungeminated *-n-*, which would disappear between vowels but assert itself as nasalization of the following consonant when the final vowel of the element is elided. Examples of nasalizing power are:

aγɔ-^{n} tongue	*aγɔ'mpɪ* tongue; *aγɔntu-* to make a tongue; *aγɔ'ŋqwai-* to have a tongue

nï-^{n} person (< *nïŋwï-*^{s}, e. g. *nïŋwuru-* to make a man)	*nïmpiŋwa-* another's wife; *nïntu-aŋqï-* to give birth to one; *nïŋqa'n·ιφι* somebody else's house
ɔvi-^{n} stick, wood	*ɔvι'mpaγï'* wooden fish; *ɔvιntu-* to make wood; *ɔvi'ŋx̌anι* wooden house
-vi-^{n} agentive + *-kai-* to be *paγ(a)i-*^{n} to walk	*tɔna'viŋx̌ai-* to be a puncher *paγ(a')impa·n·ια-* will go; *paγ(a')iŋki-* to come walking; *paγ(a')iŋqw'ai-* to walk off; *paγ(a')impuru-* to walk from place to place

(4) VACILLATION IN USE OF CONSONANTAL FORMS. There is a certain amount of sporadic variation between spirantized and nasalized consonants, in part depending on nasal assimilation, but not altogether. Examples are:

witsi''ιts· bird	*-ŋwιntsi'ιts·* in compounds (*-nts-* because of preceding *-ŋw-* < *-w-*; e. g. *ɔa'ŋwιntsi'ιts·* yellow bird)
watcï- to put	*a·'γawantcï-* to hide, put in hiding (probably secondarily dissimilated from *a·γaŋwantcï-*)
MA'ci'tcompI finger-nail	*MA'ci'ntcompI* (alternative form)
pïrï'rï- to hang on	*pïntï·-ŋu-* to hang on, *pïmpï'-ntïkι-* to hang on several times
qanι'ntcu-v^{w}a·n·ι' will build a house	*o(w)i'p·ιntcu-mpa·n·ι'* will make a canyon (both with *-ntcu-* < *-tu-* to make; but note *qanι-*^{s}: *oip·ι-*^{n})
-mpïtsι- noun ending (see § 24, 1, g)	*-mpïntsι-* (rare form of *-mpïtsι-*, e. g. *ïna'mpïntsιŋwï* badgers)
nara'q·wιtcumpa- to be assembled together	*nara'q·wιntcumpa-* (alternative form)

Less frequently an original nasalized consonant takes a spirantal form, e. g.:

NU^{x}qwɪ'ntï stream (< *NU^{x}qwɪ'-^{n}* to flow)

aŋqa'p·a·NU^{x}qwɪtcitcɪŋwï red-stream-people (*-ntï-tsɪ-* doubly assimilated to *-tcïtsɪ-*, for *-ttïtsɪ-*, then *-tcïtcɪ-*)

Not infrequently also nasalized and geminated consonants interchange, e. g.:

tɔ'ɔ'p·I hole

movʷɪ't·ɔmp·I nose-hole, nostril

tuŋqu't·v·ŋu- to become clumsy, powerless

tuntu'q·untv·ŋu- to become clumsy, heavy all over one's body (reduplicated; < *tuntuŋqut·v·ŋu-* by interchange of nasalized and geminated positions)

NU^{x}qwɪ'mpaγ(a)i- to run and walk by turns (< *NU^{x}qwi'-^{n}* to stream, run)

NU^{x}qwɪ'p·aγ(a)iḵ·a- several run and walk by turns

tümpʷɪ'n·arɔ'ŋqwantïA having stone-clothes (obj.)

tümpʷɪ'n·arɔ'ŋqwat·ïA (alternative form)

In the last three examples an original nasalized consonant has become geminated, partly for assimilative, partly for dissimilative reasons. In the first example the geminated consonant probably represents the original form.

Finally, there is some vacillation also between spirantized and geminated consonants. A number of elements that are primarily spirantizing are geminating in certain isolated forms, e. g.:

ma-^{s} hand, *ma-^{g}*:

MA'pa'iya·vuɸI palm; *MA'tca'ï'-aŋqï-* to reach for; *MA'pi'k·ɪ-* to touch with the hand

mu-^{s} nose (e. g. *mu-rɔna-* to strike with one's nose), *mu-^{g}*:

MU'pʷi'k·ɪɸI mucus

Quite distinct from this group, which evidently constitutes an archaic stratum (thus, there is no verb *-pik·i-* without prefix), are examples of stems which are inherently spirantizing but are treated as geminating when compounded with stems that occur independently. It is particularly verb (including adjective) stems, followed by noun or verb stems, that are so treated. Thus, *aŋqa-^{s}* RED (cf. *aŋqa-γa-* TO BE RED, *aŋqa-r'ua-* TO TURN RED) acts like a geminating *aŋqa-^{g}* in such forms as *aŋqa'-p·aγï'* RED FISH, TROUT, *aŋqa'-q·anI* RED HOUSE.

Similarly, *ivi-*^{s} TO DRINK (cf. *ivi-γu-* WHEN DRINKING) forms *ivi'-p·a-γ(a)i-* TO DRINK WHILE WALKING. However, these tendencies are not consistently carried out. Thus, both *aŋqa'-q·wɪca-rï* RED-FLASHING, LIGHTNING and *aŋqa'-χwɪc·a-* TO FLASH RED are found. Such details are of merely lexicographic interest. The tendency to use geminated consonants in composition is probably due to the greater phonetic similarity thus brought about between a simplex and its compound. It is the first step towards the dulling of a consciousness of consonantal alternations and towards their development into mere historical survivals.

MORPHOLOGY (§ § 17–63).

§ 17. *Grammatical Processes.*

A number of distinct processes are in use in Southern Paiute for the expression of grammatical relations or for the formation of derivatives. Some of these are affixational processes, others internal changes of phonetic character. Seven processes may be recognized in all:

(1) COMPOUNDING OF STEMS (see § 18).

(2) ENCLISIS. By enclisis is meant the suffixing of certain elements to any word in the sentence, the resulting complex constituting a firm phonetic, but not a strictly formal, unit. Enclitic elements, except for some of the pronouns, never occur in other than enclitic form. In a "word" like *ivi'ŋunʈcar'ɔanɪ* DID I TAKE A DRINK? The preterital *-ntca-*, the interrogative *-r'ɔa-*, and the pronominal *-nɪ* I are enclitic elements, not true suffixes, the true "word," formally speaking, consisting only of *ivi'ŋu-* TO TAKE A DRINK (*ivi-* TO DRINK + momentaneous suffix *-ŋu-*). This is shown by the fact that the enclitic cluster *-(n)tcar'ɔanɪ* can be appended, without bringing about any strictly formal modifications, to a preceding word in the sentence; e. g. *qan·ɪ'va·tcar'ɔan ivi'ŋU* HOUSE-AT-PRETERIT-INTERROGATIVE-I DRINK- MOMENTANEOUS, DID I DRINK AT THE HOUSE? Phonetically the form DID-I-AT-THE-HOUSE? is a perfect unit, morphologically it is a word (*qan·ɪ'-va·-* HOUSE-AT) plus a number of exteriorly segmented elements that have no independent existence. Enclisis is thus neither true suffixation nor juxtaposition of independent elements. It has the external characteristics of the former (including strict adherence to certain principles of order), the inner feeling of the latter. It is one of the most characteristic processes of Paiute, doubtless of

Plateau Shoshonean generally. Enclitics include pronominal elements (see § 40) and elements of temporal and adverbial force (see § 19).

(3) PREFIXATION (see § 20). A considerable number of elements is prefixed to stems; they consist chiefly of adverbial elements and instrumental prefixes. They have purely derivational, not formal, significance. In origin they are doubtless, at least in large part, independent stems that have lost their individuality and now appear only as first elements of compounds (with *qu-*^{g} BY MEANS OF FIRE, e. g., cf. independent *qun·a-* FIRE).

(4) SUFFIXATION (see § § 23–37). This is the most important grammatical process of all. Under suffixes are included both derivational elements (e. g. agentive *-vi-*^{n}, *-mpi-*^{n}) and elements of strictly formal significance (e. g. objective *-a-*, *-ya-*; verb subordinating *-γai-*, *-q·ai-*, *-ŋqai-*).

(5) REDUPLICATION (see § 58). As a formal process reduplication is always initial. Final reduplication occurs only in isolated words and has no formal or derivational function. There are several distinct types of reduplication. The ideas expressed by the process are chiefly those of distribution, iteration and momentaneous activity.

(6) CONSONANTAL CHANGES. These are quite apart from the mechanical changes undergone by consonants in composition (§ 16). Consonantal changes include:

(a) *Gemination* of stem consonants (see § 53, 2, b). The geminating of the consonant or consonants indicates generally momentaneous or semelfactive as contrasted with durative activity. It is also frequently found in connection with certain types of reduplication (see § 58, 3 and 4). Less commonly it is employed alone to give iterative force to the stem (see § 53, 2, b). Sporadic examples in noun derivationalso occur, e. g. *aip·a-tsɪ-* BOY: *aiva-*(*p·ïtsɪ-*) YOUTH.

(b) *Glottalization*, the insertion of a more or less movable glottal stop in the body of a stem or suffix. This occurs most frequently in connection with certain types of reduplication (see § 58, 3 and 4). Like gemination, it is also used to express momentaneous activity and iteration (see § 53, 2, a). Gemination and glottalization tend to be associated or equivalent processes. This may eventually help to clear up the origin of the geminating power of certain stems (§ 16, 2).

(7) VOCALIC CHANGES. Certain vocalic interchanges are sporadic and of no functional significance; these may be survivals in part of older processes, in part they have sound-imitative value. Other vocalic interchanges are associated with definite alternations of function.

(a) *Sporadic interchanges.* An alternation of *a·* (*a*) and *ɔ* (*ɔ·*) is found in:

pa·ra-xa- rain patters
pərɔ-xwa- sound of hail, horse's hoofs
pa·nta-γa- to make a peeking noise
pɔ·ntɔ-γwa- to sound like a thud

An *a* of the durative alternates with an *ï* of the iterative form of the stem in:

ya·-vaγai- to be afraid
yï'ï-p·aq·ai- to be afraid several times

ï and *ɔ* alternate in:

-ïïγan·ıa- adverbial affix (§ 60, 2, b)
-tɔγɔn·ıa- (rarer form of same)
tcɔ-q·ɔq·ɔi- to sound like a punching noise
tcï-q·ïq·ïi- ditto

In the latter example the primary form *tcɔ-ᵍ* WITH THE FIST (§ 20, 2) is assimilated to the *ï-* vowels of the stem; conversely, *-q·ɔq·ɔi-* may represent an assimilation of *-q·ïq·ïi-* to the *ɔ* of the prefix (see § 3, 3, e). Cf. also *pi-k·ik·i-* TO SOUND LIKE A SLAP ON THE BUTTOCKS (*pi-ᵍ* WITH THE BUTTOCKS, § 20, 2), in which the same stem with *ï-* vowel seems to have become assimilated by the *i* of the prefix. Perhaps more frequent than any of these interchanges is that of *ɔ* and *u*(*o*); this is apart from the purely phonetic interchanges already spoken of (§ 3, 5, e). Examples are:

pᴀ'-sɔ'rərɔi-tcï waterfall
curur'u- to make a noise of whirling down
tɔŋqwa·- one (bow) snaps
to·q·wa·- to stretch
pərɔ- (*pɔru-*) several travel
-puru- (in compound verbs) to go back and forth
tɔc·a- white
pa-ruc·a- Virgin River (lit., water-white)

tɔp·a-q·ɪ- (tree) comes loose, *tɔvɪ-tcai-* (feathers) come out

tup·^{w}a-q·ɪ- one object emerges, pulls out, *tuv^{w}a-γ(a)i-tcai-* several objects emerge, come through

(b) *Functional interchanges.* Two types of interchange occur, a qualitative and a quantitative one. To the former belong the change of an *a*, *a·*, *ɔ*, or *u* of the singular verb stem to an *i* in the plural (§ 53, 1, b); the alternation of semelfactive *-i-* with durative or iterative *-a-* (§ 53, 1, c); and the alternation of active *-a·-* with static or medio-passive *-i-* (§ 53, 1, d). The latter process, vocalic lengthening, is employed partly to indicate futility, partly in certain continuative forms.

§ 18. *Compounding of Stems.*

Both compound nouns and verbs (including adjectives) may be freely formed in Paiute. A large number are in constant and idiomatic use, while new compounds can be constructed without difficulty. The process of compounding is evidently very much alive in Paiute. Triple compounds, i. e. compounds involving three independent stems, are by no means infrequent (e. g. *qava'(u)-xwʌ'cɪ-väïx·ɪ* HORSE-TAIL-HAIR; *qïtca'-rï'ma-t·ïv^{w}ɪtcu-* BLOOD-ROAST-ASK FOR). Even quadruple compounds are not unknown. Nouns frequently lose an absolutive or classificatory suffix when compounded (e. g. *-tsɪ-*, § 24, 1, f; *-vi-*, *-p·i-*, *-mpi-*, § 24, 1, a and b; *-vï-* *-p·ï-*, *-mpï-*, § 24, 1, d and e); e. g. *sɔγɔ'-ϕï* MOIST GROUND, *nʌ'-cɔ'γɔ-'ma·vɪ-* TO LIE COVERED OVER WITH EARTH.

(1) COMPOUND NOUNS. Compound nouns are most easily classified with reference to the nature of the first and second compounded terms. Triple and quadruple compounds are always morphologically binary, one or both of the terms being in turn compound. Thus, the examples given above are to be analyzed as HORSE-TAIL + HAIR and BLOOD-ROAST + ASK FOR. Nouns stems, particularly in initial position, sometimes appear in abbreviated form; e. g. *nï-^{n}* PERSON < *nïŋwï-^{s}*, *na-^{n}* TRAIL < *naŋwa-^{s}*, *pa-^{s}* WATER < *pa·-^{s}*. For *mɔ'ɔ-^{s}* HAND is sometimes used *ma-^{g}* (cf. verb prefix *ma-^{s}*, § 20, 2). The qualifying element regularly precedes. Noun compounds whose second element is a participle or adjective, though logically substantival, are morphologically best interpreted as either verbs (adjectives) with incorporated noun subject or object (see 2, f below) or, more frequently, participial derivatives of such verbs (adjectives).

(a) *Noun + noun compounds.* These are extremely common. In many cases the primary force is given by the second noun, the first element of the compound merely modifying its range of significance. Examples are:

ïv^{w}a'tsɪ- wolf + *na-va'vɪ-ŋwï-* brothers	*ïv^{w}a'tsɪnavavɪŋWï* wolf-brothers, Wolf and his brother (Coyote)
qwɪya'-(tsɪ-) grizzly bear + *ma(u)ma''uts·* young woman	*qwɪya'ma(u)ma'uts·* grizzly-bear woman
qava·-^{s} horse + *pa·n·a-^{g}* metal + *pat·ca-* moccasin	*qava·'va·n·ap·at·cA* horseshoe
ïna-^{n} badger (absolute *ïna'mpïts·*)	*ïna'n·ïŋwïŋWï* badger people; *ïn·α'n·ɪa·φI* badger chief; *ïna'-ŋqwac·I* badger tail (absolute *qWA'sɪ'φI* tail)
pi·p·uŋ'wa-^{s} woodpecker + *tïγïvï-* friend	*pi·'p·uŋ'warïxïvïaŋA* his woodpecker-friend
san·a-^{g} gum (absolute *san·a'p·I*) + *atcï-* bow	*san·a''atcï* gum bow
ma-^{g} hand (absolute *mɔ'ɔ'φI*) + *quna'φï* sack	*MA^{x}qu'naφï* glove
nï-^{n} person (absolute *nï'ŋWï, nïŋwï'nts·*)	*nïŋqa'n·ɪφI* somebody else's horse
pa-^{s} water (absolute *pa·'*)	*paγwɪ'aφï* water-oak; *paŋwɪ'aφï* mud at bottom of water (< *wɪa'φï* mud)

Frequent also are "bahuvrīhi" compounds, i. e. such as indicate that the noun referred to by the second element of the compound is possessed by an understood or specified person, animal, or object (cf. such English compounds as *hunchback*, i. e. HAVING A HUMPED BACK). Examples are:

cïnaŋwavi-^{n} coyote + *tɔt·sɪ-^{s}* head (absolute *tɔ'tsɪ'φI*	*cïna'ŋwavintɔts·* coyote-headed, crazy-headed person
qut·cu-^{n} buffalo + *tan·as·ɪγa-* hoof cleft + *wïγï-^{n}* vulva (absolute *wïγï'mpI*)	*qU'tcu'ntan·as·ɪγaŋwïx·ï* (girl with a) vulva that is cleft like a buffalo hoof
naγa- mountain sheep + *nampa-^{s}* foot (absolute *nampa'φI*)	*naχa'nampA* mountain-sheep-foot (personal name)

None too frequently juxtaposition of phonetically independent

nouns occurs in lieu of composition, e. g. *qava'(u)xwA'cıvaïγ ɑmï nava'vıŋwï* HORSE-TAIL-HAIR THEY BROTHERS, THE HORSE-TAIL-HAIR BROTHERS; *qava·'ruwats· piya'p·ïts·* HORSE-CHILD FEMALE, FILLY.

(b) *Noun + participle compounds.* As already remarked, such compound nouns are morphologically active or passive participles of verbs with incorporated nominal subjects or objects respectively. They function as true nouns nevertheless. Indeed, to only a slight extent can the verbs be freely used with the incorporated noun subjects, while participial derivatives of such verbs are very frequent. Moreover, in some cases the participle of these compounds has taken on a considerably specialized meaning, notably *qarï'-ʀï* SITTING (plural *yuγwı'-tcï*), used in compounds to mean KNOLL, PEAK, ISLAND. Examples of compounds in which the noun is morphologically a subject of the verb implied by the participle are:

qaiva- mountain + *avi'-tcï* lying	*qa'iva·vitcï* mountain-lying, plateau, Kaibab Plateau
ɔvi- wood + *sa'ma'q·a-ntï-* lying spread out	*ɔvı's·a'maq·antï* timber laid low on the ground
aɔŋqɔvï- dried-up tree + *wïnï-rï-* standing	*a'ɔŋqɔvïŋwïnïrïA* dried up tree that was standing (obj.)
pa·-, pa- water + *qarï'-ʀï* sitting (plur. *yuγwı'-tcï*	*pa·'q·arïʀï, paγa'rïʀï* water-sitting, lake (plur. *paiyv·'χwıtcï*) lakes)
-qarï'-ʀï sitting, knoll, peak, clump, island	*maa·'xarïʀï* brush-sitting, timbered knoll, clump of woods; *qa'ivaχarïʀï* mountain-sitting, mountain peak; *yïvʷı'ŋɣarïʀï* pine peak, Mount Trumbull; *nïvʷa'xarïʀï* snow-sitting, snow covered peak; *ɔγɔ'ŋqwarïʀï* fir-sitting, fir island
-narïγwı·n·ɑ-p·ï being powerful, power-endowed	*nïŋwï'narïγwı·n·ɑp·ï* person-power endowed, person endowed with unusual strength; *qʊ'tu'c·unarïχwı·n·ap·ï* giant-power-endowed, person endowed with gigantic power
tava'c·u-p·ï dried up (< *tavac·u-* it dries up)	*ɔγɔ'ntavac·up·ï* fir-dried up, dried up fir

qwA'cï'-p·ï ripe (< *qwac·ï-* to ripen, be done)

a·'p·ɔrïc·ɪxwA'cïp·ï apple-ripened, ripe apples

Rarely the noun is found detached from its participle, e. g. beside objective *pa-γa'rïrïA, pa·'-q·arïrïA* LAKE we have also *paa'iA qarï'rïA* WATER (obj.) SITTING (obj.).

Rather different from these examples in inner, if not outer, form are compounds in which the participle is freely used in a substantival sense. They are really ordinary noun + noun compounds, in which the logical emphasis is on the second element. Examples are:

NUˣqwɪ'-ntï stream (lit., flowing)

A'ta'n·Uˣqwɪntï sand stream (i. e. "stream with sandy bed," not "streaming, flowing sand")

tAˣqa·'γa-ntï being flat, a "flat"

A'ta'RAˣqa·γantï sand-flat (not "flat sand")

Very common are noun + participle compounds in which the noun is to be thought of as the object of the verb back of the participle. Here again the compound is functionally a noun, the logical emphasis being generally placed on the first element. Examples are:

tɔ'ɔ'ivï- bulrush + *ɔra-n·anI* my digging, my dug-up ones

tɔ'ɔ'ivïɔran·an uR my-bulrush-dug it, the bulrushes that I dug up

paï-g blood + *mantcaq·ai-n·a-* stretching out (one's) hands, hands stretched out

pa·'m·antcaq·ain·aφï his own blood-hand-stretched out, his own bloody hands

tɔt·sɪ- head + *tï'mwa'-p·I* roasted

tɔ'tsɪ't·i'mwαp·I head-roasted, roasted head

qanɪ- house + *mama'x·AqaI'-pi-* having been given (by many)

qanɪ'mamax·qaI'pɪaŋA his house-given (by many), his house given (him) by many

piŋwa- wife + *tv·ŋwa'i-p·ï* picked up

piŋwa'rv·ŋwaip·ïnI my wife-picked up, my wife who has been picked up (by me)

qut·cu- buffalo, beef + *iya'-p·ï* cut up and dried

qU'tcu''ɪyap·ï dried beef

Such examples differ in inner form from compounds in which the noun is an ordinary incorporated noun object of an active participle, e. g. *tümpw'ɪ'-n·arɔ'ŋqwa-ntï* STONE-WEARING, STONE-CLOTHES.

(c) *Noun + adjective compounds.* Most adjectives are really verbs (predicative) or participles of verbs (attributive). There are, however, a few cases of true adjectives with nominal suffixes (e. g. *-mpï-*, *-tsɪ-*) which, in compounds, follow the noun they qualify, e. g.:

qanɪ- house + *ɪ·t·ü-mpï-* old — *qanɪ'ɪ·t·ümpï* house-old, old house

wï'a-ᵍ penis + *pɪ'tɔ'p̣·i-ts·* short — *wï'a'p·ɪ'tɔp̣·its·* penis-short, short penised ("bahuvrīhi")

(d) *Noun + verb compounds.* Nouns which are compounded of a noun stem and a bare verb (or adjective-verb) stem are extremely uncommon. They seem to belong to the "bahuvrīhi" type. Examples are:

wï'a-ᵍ penis + *Nɔˣqɔʺmi* to bend (intr.) — *wï'a'n'Nɔˣqʷɔ'MI* penis-bend, bent-penised (personal name)

pa-ˢ water + *tuc·a-* to be white (ordinarily *tɔc·a-*) — *paru'c·A* water-white, Virgin River

(e) *Verb + noun compounds.* These are fairly frequent, e. g.:

nɔ·- to carry on one's back — *nɔ·'q·ava'* pack-horse; *nɔ·'s·ari·ts·* pack-dog

yai- to hunt + *qava'* horse — *yaa'iķ·ava'* hunting horse

naγu'q·wi- to fight + *nɪn·i'a·-vɪŋWï* chiefs — *naγu'q·wɪn·ɪn·ia·vɪŋWï* fight chiefs, battle chiefs

yaγa- to cry + *uvʷɪ'aφï* song — *yaγa'uvʷɪaφï* cry-song, song used in mourning ceremony

NA'sa''a- to boil oneself, sweat + *qa'nɪ* house — *NA'sa''aq·anɪ* sweat-house

Here must be included compounds of adjective-verb stems and noun stems, which also are quite common, particularly in a "bahuvrīhi" sense (sometimes nominalized by *-tsɪ-*, § 24, 1, f) and in verbal derivatives in *-kai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). Examples are:

piķ·a-ˢ to be sore — *pɪ'ķa'χwɪt·ï* sore-buttocks (personal name); *pɪ'ķa'mɔ'ᵊ* sore-handed); *pɪ'ķa'rɔts·* sore-head-(ed); *pɪ'ķa'nampats·* sore-foot-ed (one)

piķ·a-ˢ to be hard — *pɪ'ķa''aiA* hard-turtle, land turtle; *pɪ'ķa'χunaφï* hard-bag, rawhide bag

aŋqa- to be red	*aŋqa'p·aγï'* red-fish, trout; *aŋqa'-ɔra·ϕï* red-pole; *aŋqa'q·anɪ* red-house
tɔc·a- to be white	*tɔ'ca'p·aiyampa-ts·* white-breasted (one), gull; *tɔ'ca'p·aiya·tsɪ-χantï* white-breast-having, gull
tca·- to be wrinkled	*tca·'χuvʷa-χai-* to have a wrinkled face; *tca·'mᵊ'ɔ-χwai-* to have wrinkled hands

Under this heading may also be included nominalized participles based on verbs compounded of verb (or adjective) + verb, e. g. *aŋqa'q·WI'caRï* RED-FLASHING, LIGHTNING; and nouns compounded of verb (or adjective) stems and participles that have substantival force to begin with, e. g. *aŋqa'p·a·NUˣqwɪntï* RED-STREAM (*pa·'NUˣ-qwɪ-ntï* WATER-FLOWING, STREAM).

(f) *Participle + noun compounds.* This type of noun compound is not uncommon. Examples are:

man·u- all + *-va·-ntï-* future participle	*man·u'va·ntïp·a'atsɪvɪŋWï* all-kinds-of-animals that are destined to be
nana'x·-qa-ntï- being of different kinds	*nana'x·qantïŋqanɪ* different kinds of houses
s·ɪŋqwa'naŋqwa-t·ï- being on the other side, the other	*s·ɪŋqwa'naŋqwat·ïaŋavïnɪ* my other arm
ᵃ'a'-t·ï- being good	*tïvʷi'ts at·ɪuvʷiaia(u)ϕï* very his-own-good-song (obj.), his own very good song

The noun of the compound may, of course, itself be participial in form, e. g. *to·'q·warï-nU'qwɪntï* BEING BLACK-STREAMING, BLACK STREAM.

(g) *Adjective + noun compounds.* Aside from adjective-verb stems and adjective-verb participles, true adjectives may also be used as the first, qualifying, elements of noun compounds, some of them (e. g. *aï-ˢ* NEW and *i·-ᵍ* OLD) being apparently found only in such compounds. Examples are:

mɪa''-p·ï-ˢ little (absolute *mɪa''p·ï-ts·*)	*mɪa''p·ïm·'ɔnts·* little hand; *mɪa''-p·ïχanints·* little house

pa·-vï-^{n} clear + *pa·-* water	*pa·vu'mpa'* clear water
aï-^{s} new	*a'ïn·aŋwa·ŋA* his fresh tracks; *'a'ïv*^{w}*ɪŋwa-vïts·* newly-married one (< *pɪŋwa-* wife)
i·-^{g} old	*i·'p·uŋqunɪ* my old horse; *i·'p·ïanɪ* my old relative

Some adjectives may precede the nouns they qualify as independent terms, e. g. also *mɪa''p·ï-ts· qa'nɪ* LITTLE HOUSE.

(h) *Numeral + noun compounds.* These are very common and comprise one of the typical methods of expressing numeral relations. For examples see § 59, 2, b.

(i) *Pronoun + noun compounds.* These are quite rare, including terms compounded with interrogative *in·i-*^{s} WHAT KIND OF, WHICH and *qïma-*^{s} OTHER, which has certain pronominal peculiarities (see § 39, 2). Examples are:

in·i-^{s} what + *tïγïvï-* friend	*'ini'ntcïγïvïnɪ* what friend of mine?
qïma-^{s} other + *qani-* house	*qïma'χanɪnɪ* my other house

qïma- may also qualify as an independent pronoun, e. g. *qïma'rïc·u qani'nɪ* MY OTHER HOUSE.

(j) *Adverb + noun compounds.* These also are rare. An example is:

tantï'v^{w}*ai-* far west	*tantï'v*^{w}*aiuv*^{w}*ɪaϕï* far-west songs, songs borrowed from western tribes

(2) COMPOUND VERBS. Verbs compounded with other independent stems, particularly verbs and nouns, are extremely common in Paiute. Under compound verbs are, of course, to be included adjective-verbs and participles.

(a) *Verb + verb compounds.* A great many verb stems may be used as the second elements of compound verbs. As to their morphological force, they seem to fall into two groups, those whose action is to be thought of as contemporaneous or coordinate with that of the first verb stem (here belong particularly verbs of position and movement) and those upon which the first verb stem logically depends as a kind of object (e. g. TO WRITE-PRACTICE, TO PRACTICE WRITING).

It is not easy to draw a sharp line between the two groups. Not a few verb stems are used chiefly, if not entirely, as second elements of compounds. Some have become specialized in a quasi-formal significance (e. g. *-paiyï-* TO RETURN, also TO HAVE JUST DONE SO AND SO).

Among the former group are: *-avi-* TO LIE (sing.); *-m·ia-* SEVERAL GO, TRAVEL, GO IN ORDER TO; *-nuq·wi-* TO RUN, START OFF; *-nu'ı-ɬ·ai-* SEVERAL STAND; *-paγ(a)i-* TO WALK, in compounds generally WHILE ON ONE'S WAY; *-pa(i)yï-* TO RETURN, BACK; *-pan·aγa-* SEVERAL RETURN; *-pitcï-* TO ARRIVE; *-pïn·i-* TO SEE, LOOK; *-puru-* TO GO ABOUT, FROM PLACE TO PLACE (cf. independent *pɔrɔ-* SEVERAL JOURNEY); *-qa·-* TO SING; *-qarï-* TO SIT (sing.); *-qwavi-* SEVERAL LIE; *-kwip·a-* TO HIT; *-waŋwi* SEVERAL STAND; *-wïn·ï-* TO STAND (sing.); *-yuγwi-* SEVERAL SIT. Examples are:

-avi- to lie

ɥnı'avıχa' while thus-do-lying, while lying as described; *tA'pa'-c·ɬaiavi'* lies senseless; *tï'qa'-avıɬ·ai'* several eat in lying position

-m·ia- several travel (not frequent as independent verb)

tu(w)a'm·ıap·ïγa' each gave birth while on their way; *qa·'m·ıap·ï-γa'* (they) sang while on their way, went in order to sing; *nɔntsı'ɬ·amıaγa'* as (they) flew along

-paγ(a)i- to walk

qa·'p·aγ(a)ip·ïγa' (he) sang while on (his) way; *qwavı'ŋUpax·ı-pïγa'* (they) stopped to camp while traveling

-pa(i)yï- to return

ya·'va(i)'yïq·WA bring it back; *nɔ·'p·a(i)yık·ıpïγa'* came back home carrying on (his) back

-pitcï- to arrive

ivi'vitci' comes to drink; *tca-'a'ivıtcıχw'aip·ïγa'* went and took hold of (her) as soon as (he) arrived

-puru- to go about

a'ivurup·ïγa' said as (he) went here and there; *paχ(a)'impuru-χwa'* while walking from one to another

-qa·- to sing	*ʊ'cu'q·wiχa·p·ïγa'* whistled and sang, whistled a tune
-qarï- to sit	*pïn·i'ḵ·arïχa'* while sitting and looking; *qwitca'χarïp·ïγa'* sat down and defecated
-waŋwi- several stand	*qa·'ŋwaŋwi'* several stand and sing
-wïn·ï- to stand (sing.)	*naŋqa'ṫ·caŋwɥnɪp·ïγa'* stood and listened; *ampa'χaŋwɥ̈nïi'* stands and talks

Some of the latter group of verb stems are: *-ampaγa-* TO TALK; *-mauṗ·a-*, *-mauq̇·u-* TO FINISH, STOP (*-mauq̇·u-* only in compounds); *-maq·ïŋ'wa-* TO TRY; *-muc·ui-* TO TRY; *-pai-* TO CALL UPON; *-pïn·i-* (*n'ni-*) TO LOOK AROUND FOR; *-put·cutcuγwa-* TO LEARN HOW; *-qɔra-* TO PUT OUT; *-ïγa·-* TO PRACTICE, TRY; DIRECT, TALK ABOUT; *-ïŋwavaγa-* TO MAKE A NOISE OF; *-ïvʷitcu-* TO ASK FOR; *-ïvʷitcu'a-* TO LEARN HOW; *-tuc·uŋ'wi-* TO EXERCISE POWER. Examples are:

-mauṗ·a-, *-mauq̇·u-* to finish	*ïï'qa'm·au'p·ᴀ* be through eating; *ïγa'n·ɪmauq̇·utsɪaŋᴀ* having finished butchering him
-muc·ui- to try	*pɪ'pɪ'ṫ·a'nɪ'mʊ'cui'* tries to vomit
-ïγa·- to measure (as absolute verb)	*wï'ɪ'ṫ·ïγa·i'* practices dancing; *kiya'ṫ·ïχa·m·ip·ïγa'* he always commanded a round-dance to take place; *pᴀᶻqa'χw'ɔitcɪχa·χa'* talking of going to kill
-ïŋwavaγa- to make a noise of	*ampa'rɪŋwavaxai'* sounds like talking; *mumpa'ṫ·ɪŋwavaxai'* sounds like something rolling
-ïvʷitcu- to ask for	*ïïχwɪ·'n·at·ïvʷɪtcuχwai'iŋWᴀ* go and ask him to tell a story; *cïï'x·ᴀtïvʷɪtcup·ïγaiyaŋᴀ* asked him to go for squaw-bush
-tuc·uŋ'wi- to exercise power	*ya'a'it·ʊ'cuŋ'wɪɣïaŋanɪ* he exercises power upon me (so as) to (make me) die

The most noteworthy examples of compounded verb stems that have developed a non-concrete formal significance are illustrated below:

-paiyï- to return > to have been doing so and so (sing.)	*ivi'vaiyɪ‘* drink-returns, has been drinking; *qa·'vaiyɪk̲·aiyïaŋᴀ* he has sing-returned, he must have been singing
-pan·aγa- dit. (plur.)	*pᴀˣqa'vanaγaγa‘* (they) kill-returning, (they) having been killing
-pïn·i-m·ia- to look- be on one's way, to be on the lookout for > to be just about to	*tï‘qa'p·ïnɪmɪai‘* is on the lookout to eat, is about to eat; *ya'uq·wɪ-pïnɪmi(y)aγoɑq·ᴀ* when it was on the lookout to set, when the sun was about to set
-qarï- to sit > to keep on doing so and so, to be engaged in so and so	*tï‘qa'q·arïi‘* eat-sits, keeps on eating; *wïnï'χarïʀï* stand-sitting, one engaged in standing, one stationed (to keep watch in hunting)
-yuγwi- dit. (plur.)	*wïnï'yuχwɪtcïmï* stand-sitting (plur.), those stationed
-c·ua-ŋu- to finish eating > completion	*ivi'c·uaŋU* to drink-finish, to drain
-tup·ʷi-k·u- to be used up > completion	*na'a'it·ᴜ‘pʷik·ᴜqwa‘* has burn-been used up, has burnt up

Such a second verb-stem needs only to drop out of independent usage to take on the appearance of a suffix. This step has undoubtedly been taken more than once (see § 28).

Under the rubric of verb + verb compounds are to be included also compounds of adjective-verb stem and verb stem and of adjective-verb stem and adjective-verb stem. Examples of the former are:

paï-ⁿ to be smooth	*pa·'ntᴀ‘cɪu'kwiŋqï* to slip on something smooth
aŋqa- to be red	*aŋqa'χwɪc·ᴀ* to flash red; *aŋqa'-q·ɔrɔi‘* paints the face (generally but not necessarily, red)
pa·-saγwa-ˢ to be water-gray + *pïnɪk̲·ai-* to see, look	*pa·'saχwavi̯nɪk̲·aip·ïγain·ɪ‘* looked water-gray in (his) eyes
saγwa-ˢ to be gray + *pïrïr'ï-* to hang down	*saχwɔ'vïrïr'ⁱ-pa·ts·* blue-hanging-down spring
saru- to be hoarse + *ampaγa-* to talk	*saru'ampaγai‘* talks hoarse

Examples of adjective-verb compounds consisting of adjective-verb + adjective-verb (or adjective-verb participle) are:

to·-^{g} to be black + *-m'unuq·wa·-* to become round
to·'m'unuq·wa·p·ïγain·ι' became like black and round

paï-^{n} to be smooth + *yua·-γai-* to be level
paï'yua·xa' to be smooth and level

to·-^{g} to be black + *pa·'n'nɔa-γantï-* being hollow
to·'p̣·a·n·ɔaγantï being black and hollow

-saγwa-γa-rï- being blue
A'sι's·aγwaγaRï roan-blue, very light blue; *qU'tca'c·aγwaγaRï* ashen-blue, light blue; *tv·'c·a-γwaγaRï* black-blue, dark blue

(b) *Adjective + verb compounds.* Compounds of true adjectives (not merely adjective-verb stems), including participles, and verbs (or participles) are quite uncommon, except for compounds whose first element is *'a't·ï-^{n}* GOOD, e. g. *^{a}'a't·ïmpU'tcu'tcuγwap·ïγa'aik·WA* WELL (HE) UNDERSTOOD IT; *^{a}'a't·ümpA^{x}qaŋUpïγaiyaŋA* KILLED HIM GOOD AND HARD; *^{a}'a't·ïnaŋqap·ïγa'aik·WA* or *^{a}'a't·ïnaŋqApïγa'aik·WA* HEARD IT CORRECTLY, CLEARLY; *^{a}'a't·ïwa'aŋintcï* GOOD-SHOUTING, GOOD SHOUTER. It is remarkable that in most of these examples *^{a}'a't·ï-^{n}* and the following verb are treated as accentually distinct, i. e. the law of alternating stresses is broken. The doublets *-naŋ-qa'p·ïγa'aik·WA* and *-na'ŋqApïγa'aik·WA* shows the struggle between the force of analogy of the simplex and the regular operation of the phonetic law.

(c) *Pronoun + verb compounds.* Independent personal pronouns are not compounded with verbs. Under this heading, however, are included verbs compounded with quasi-pronominal *qïma-* OTHER (see § 39, 2) and verbs compounded of independent personal pronoun + *-rïc·u'ai-n·a·'ai-* TO PAY NO ATTENTION TO. Examples are:

qïma- other
qïm·a'ntcïkιva·ŋwa'^{a} shall not be mixed up with others

-rïc·u'ai-n·a·'ai- to pay no attention to
nïru'c·u'ain·a·'^{a} pay no attention to me; *aŋa'RïcU'ain·a·'^{a}* pay no attention to him

The latter examples are just as readily explainable as verbalized pronoun + postposition (see § 50, 4, 29).

(d) *Numeral + verb compounds.* These are very uncommon. An example of a verb compounded with *naŋwa''^{a}q·u-^{n}* BOTH (objective in form) is *naŋwa''^{a}q·umpA^{x}qaŋU* TO KILL BOTH (i. e. to guess correctly both bone-positions in hand game).

(e) *Adverb + verb compounds.* The adverbs here referred to may occur also independently. There is no real line of demarcation between them and specialized adverbial prefixes (§ 20). Examples are:

nava'c·u- in vain	*nava'c·up·A^{x}qaŋU* to kill in vain (note accentual irregularity, cf. b above).
qatcu- not + *-tïγai-* to become	*qatcu't·ïγaiyïnI* I not-become, I am becoming exhausted
tï'ŋwï-^{s} (. . .*n·ia-*) quickly	*tï'ŋwïʀïqamɪγɑnI* I am wont to eat quickly; *tï'ŋwïna·vaip·ïγai-n·ɪ'aq·WA* was gathering them up quickly.

(f) *Noun + verb compounds.* These comprise examples of what is ordinarily known as noun incorporation. The absolutive or classificatory suffix of the noun is frequently lost in noun-verb compounds. The syntactic relation implied between the verb and its incorporated noun may be of various sorts. The incorporated noun may be an instrument; it may indicate similarity; it may function as a direct object; it may have local significance; it may function as the subject of the verb; it may be a predicate of the subject; or it may be a predicate of the object. Any of these relations may be, and more often is, expressed by properly syntactic or morphological processes. It is not possible to give a simple rule as to when noun incorporation is possible or required, whether, e. g., to say I TRAIL-SEEK or I SEEK A TRAIL. There is a good deal of option in this matter, but many cases of incorporation are fixed by idiomatic usage. There is some tendency to express what might be called characteristic or generalized relations by syntactic means. Any general and valid rule, however, is hardly to be formulated.

(a) An *instrumental* function is illustrated in:

taγu-^{g} thirst + *paq·a-* to be sore, to have pain	*taγu'p·A^{x}qa-* to be sore with thirst, to be thirsty
aγɔ- tongue	*axɔ'rɔv^{w}i'* licks

pua-^{s} "medicine" + *qwïï-* to take	*pua'(u)χwïï'* takes out (disease object) by means of "medicine"
qwas·ɪ-^{s} tail + *kwɪp·a-* to hit	*qwA'sɪ'xwI'pap·ïχaiyaq·A* hit it with (his) tail
a·-^{g} horn + *tɔn·a-* to punch, strike	*a·'t·ɔn·ap·ïγa'* struck at with (his) horns
wii-^{g} knife	*wii't·ɔn·ap·ïγa'* stabbed with a knife; *wii'ŋwĪ'paq·ɪn'NA* to rip open with a knife

The verb *ya'ai-* TO DIE is idiomatically used with incorporated nouns of instrumental function to express various unpleasant psychic states, e. g. *tU'qwɪ'-y'ai-* TO BE ASHAMED; *naŋa'-ï'ai-* TO ANGER-DIE, TO BE ANGRY; *ïïγï'(i)-ya'ai-* TO HUNGER-DIE, TO BE HUNGRY.

(β) A few examples have been found in which the incorporated noun has *similative* significance. It is quite doubtful if such can be considered as representing a distinct type. Examples are:

tA'cɪ'ŋwα-mpï coarse gravel	*tA'cɪ'ŋwɪyuntaq·aγ^{t}ï'* keeps changing color like gravel
nampa'-φI foot	*nampa'rïŋwαyaxai'* sounds like footsteps

(γ) The use of the incorporated noun as *direct object* is very common. Examples are:

paγïu-^{s} fish	*paγï'urïq·ai'* eats fish
qwɔ'a'-p·ï tobacco	*qwɔ'a't·Ï'qai'* tobacco-eats, smokes
atcï- bow	*atcï'p·ïγava'* shall put away bow (for future use)
muv^{w}ï'-p·I nose	*muv^{w}ɪ't·cau'nai'* scratches (his) nose
nïŋwï-^{s} person	*nïŋwï'φUcaγai'iχwa'^{a}* go look for a person!
ɔvɪ-^{n} stick	*ɔvɪ'ya·vaiyɪp·ïγa'* stick-bring-returned, brought back a stick
pa·-^{s} water	*pa·ru''umA* to take water
wantsɪ- antelope	*wantsɪ't·ïnavuruχunI* while I was chasing antelopes around

Some incorporated nouns appear in abbreviated form, e. g. *nï-^{n}* as well as *nïŋwï-^{s}* PERSON, *pa-^{s}* as well as *pa·-^{s}* WATER. Examples are:

na-^{n} track, trail (absolute *naŋwa'-ɸɪ*)	*nantï'naiʻ* follows trail, tracks; *nampï'n'in·i'iʻ* looks for track; *nampu'c·aγaɪʻkup·ïγaʻ* started to look for a track
nï-^{n} person (absolute *nï'ŋwï*, *nïŋwï'nts·*)	*nïntu'aŋqï-* to give birth to (a person); *NÏʻcɪ'm·^{w}ɻ$_{A}$* to let a person go
pa-^{s} water (absolute *pa·ʻ*)	*pa(i)yu''$_{A}^{x}$qɪʻ* brings water

(δ) Less common is the use of the incorporated noun in a *local* sense. Examples are:

tavɪ- sun (poetic)	*tavɪ'aviχaʻ* while lying in the sun
pa-^{s} water	*pamï'nɪcɪk·w'aivaʻ* will turn upside down in the water; *parα'n'ɪγɪ-tsɪŋwï* people who stick their feet in the water (tribal name)
-p$_{A}^{x}$qa'ŋqï- to have a pain	*tɔʻtsɪ'ɸ$_{A}^{x}$qaŋqïyïnɪ* I have a headache; *mov^{w}ɪ'p·$_{A}^{x}$qaŋqïyïnɪ* I have a toothache
qanɪ-^{s} house + *paγɪ-* to walk	*qanɪ'vaγɪn'nɪʻ* visits around in the houses

(ε) Examples of the *subjective* use of the incorporated noun are:

pa-^{s} water	*paγu'nuyɔχwaiʻ* water is boiling
paγï'n·a-^{s} fog, cloud + *q$_{A}^{x}$qa'rï-* to settle, begin to sit	*paγɪ'n·ax·qarïχuʻ* would become foggy (lit., fog would begin to sit); *paγï'n·aŋwïnɪp·aγɛɪʏï* cloud stands up and walks (poetic)
tava- sun	*tava'(i)yauq·wɪʻ* sun sets; *tava''maŋwïc·iʻ* sun rises
m^{w}ï'a't·ɔγɔ- moon	*m^{w}'a't·ɔγɔi'aiʻ* moon dies
nïv^{w}a- snow + *uŋwa-* to rain	*nïv^{w}a''uŋwava·n·ɪ'aq·$_{A}$* it will snow-rain, it will snow

More common than verbs with incorporated noun subjects are noun-functioning participles of such verbs (see 1, b).

(ζ) Examples of the use of the incorporated noun as a *predicate of the subject* are:

nɪa·vɪ-^{n} chief

nɪa·'vɪampaγai' talks as chief, talks in council; *nɪa·'vɪntï'-qaŋ'wɪ* to become a chief

tïγïv^{w}*ï-* friend + *tca'ai-* to catch, grasp

tïγï'v^{w}*ïtca'ai-* to grasp (each other's hands) as friends

tïγai-, *tï'qaŋ'wi-* TO BECOME is very frequently compounded with predicative nouns, e. g. *nïŋwï'RÏqaŋ'wɪ* TO BECOME A MAN; *sɔn·ɪ'aŋwï-rïχaiŋU* TO BECOME THE DIPPER; *ɔvɪ'ntï'qaŋ'wɪntca·ŋA* HE BECAME A STICK. The distinction between types (ε) and (ζ) is perhaps somewhat arbitrary.

(η) The use of the incorporated noun as a *predicate of the object* is not very common. Examples are:

quma-^{s} husband

quma'χwïï'ŋWA to take him for a husband

piŋwa-^{s} wife

pɪŋwa'χw'ïp·ïγaiyaŋA took her for a wife

§ 19. *Enclitics.*

Enclitics, as already pointed out (§ 17, 2), may be attached to any word in the sentence. The pronominal enclitic elements will be treated later in connection with the independent personal pronouns (§ 40). Here we shall discuss only enclitics of adverbial significance. Except in certain specified cases, they regularly precede pronominal enclitics.

(1) ENCLITICS OF TEMPORAL SIGNIFICANCE. Two enclitic elements are used to refer to past time.

(a) *-tca-*, *-ntca-*. This element refers to the recent past and is often best translated by the English perfect. For the forms *-tca'*, *-ntca'* see § 7. Examples are:

tɔna't·ï·tcɑnɪ I have been hit

tavɪ'tsɪtca·ŋanɪ pA^{x}*qa'ŋunɪ* having-hit-past-he-me kill-me; having hit me, he killed me (note that *-tca-* here refers not to *tavɪ'tsɪ-* HAVING HIT, but to following *pA*^{x}*qa'ŋu-* KILL)

witsï''tsiɑtca·ŋ qo'q·wɪ bird- obj.-past- he shoot, he shot the bird

wa·'q·utcanɪ qava·'x·A two-obj.-past- I horse receive, I received two horses

tɔna'ntcanɪ I struck (not long ago)

imi'ntca' pɪ'pi'tcï thou-past arrive, you arrived
u(w)a'n·oyuntcA paiyü'ŋU over there-past return, has been there and returned from there

If a pronominal enclitic is used possessively with the preceding noun, the enclitic -*(n)tca-* follows (aside from -*φï* ONE'S OWN), e. g.:

mǫa'n·intc aŋA mompa'q·U father-my-past he roll-off, my father rolled off

but:

o·'αtsa·ŋaφï qwïï' arrow-obj.-past- he-own take, he took his own arrow

With interrogative *ai-* (§ 44, 2, c) *-tca-* apparently refers to present time, e. g. *a'iťcaŋwA* WHERE IS HE? but there is probably an implied reference to the past, e. g. WHERE HAS HE (GONE TO)? It is sometimes used with exhortative *ïvwï-* (§ 60, 2, d), e. g. *ïvwï'tcan·ιχa'a* LET-PAST-ME-THEN, LET ME THEN!

(b) *-γwa-*, a general preterital element referring to more remote time than *-(n)tca-*. For the form *-γwa'* see § 7. Examples are:

pA'qa'ŋuγwa·ŋanɪ I killed him (narrative form; contrast *pA'qa'ŋuntca·ŋanɪ* I have killed him [just now])
nï'χwa'aŋwA pA'qa'ŋU I-past-him kill, I killed him
an·ι'aχw aivï' qa·'γa' what-past would-say while-singing? what did he sing?
aŋa'x uru''a who-past he? who was he? (*-x* < *-xw*; § 13, 7, c)
nï'γwa' tɔ'nA I-past punch, I punched (long ago)

That *-γwa-* is no true tense suffix is shown by the fact that it may be used with the verbal *-yï-* suffix of present time (see § 32, 1), e. g.:

imi'χwar'ua·q·A marï'ŋqaiyïaq·A thou-past-interrogative-it create-present-it? didst thou create it?
ivi'yïxwa·q̇·aŋA drink-present-past-it-he, he drank it (long ago)

A broken form *-γwa'a-* (perhaps *-γwa-* + *-'a-*, 3) also occurs. Its morphology is not clear. Examples are:

ųnι'tsιχwa'an uvwa·'nɪ then-past-I there-I, then I was there
nį'nιaχwa'axain·ι qarï'i' me-past-too sit-present, I too was seated
imi'aχwa'axain·ι qarï'i' thee-past-too-sit-present, you too (it was said) were seated

For the objective form of the personal pronoun in the last two examples see § 39, 4.

(2) ENCLITICS OF MODAL AND SENTENCE-CONNECTIVE SIGNIFICANCE. Several of these are used in idiomatic connections that do not readily yield insight into their primary significance. It is believed, however, that the chief elements and uses are given below.

(a) *-γain·ıa-, -aγain·ıa-* TOO, ALSO. These elements always follow pronominal enclitics, when present. The form *-aγain·ıa-* is probably compounded of *-a-* (see 3, a below) and *-γain·ıa-*; it is not at all clear how it differs in use or meaning from *-γain·ıa-*.*-γain·ıa-* itself is perhaps compounded of *-n·ıa-* (see d below). Examples of *-γain·ıa-* ALSO, TOO are:

nï'χain·ı' I too
uŋwa'c·uγwain·ı' that one too
cv·'yuχwain·ı' still another one
nïm^{w}ı'χain·ı' we (exclusive) too
tï'qa'xw'aiva·n·ıχain·ı' I also will go to eat

Examples of *-aγain·ıa-* TOO are:

nïŋwï'axain·ı ya'a'iɬ·a' person-too died
maŋa'iʌcuaxain·ı uŋwaru'' aru''ɑnʌ his-too he-is being, he belongs to him too

Sometimes *-(a)γain·ıa-* is elided to *-(a)γain·*, e. g.:

nï'axain· ıŋı'va·n·ı' I-too will-do

A frequent modal use of *-γain·ıa-* is to indicate a somewhat unexpected inference or an emphasis on an idea that might be questioned. It may then be rendered IT TURNED OUT, IT SEEMS, INDEED, JUST. Examples are:

marï'ac·uχwain·ı' qan·ı'p·ïn·ı' naya'ϕʌ^{x}qaı'pïγa' that (house) -it-turned-out old-abandoned- house-like seemed
qan·ı'am·ïχain·ı aʀï house-their-it-seems it; their house, as it seems
tï'qa'xw'aiva·n·ıar'uɑn·ıχain·ı' it looks, indeed, as if I shall go to eat
p̓u'ı'tcatsıχain·ı' mice, as it turned out
iva·'n·'ıan·ıχain·ı' right here I was
tɔγɔ'avıŋwaxain·ı uŋwʌ tïrɑ'xuava·'m avı'p·ïγa' rattlesnakes-it-was-that them in-their-midst lay, indeed he lay right among the rattlesnakes

An example of doubly elided *-γain·* is:

a'in'nıa·ŋaxain· '*a'ik·ᶻA* that-he-indeed said, that is what he *did* say

(b) *-γa'a-* THEN ! INDEED. This element, which follows pronominal enclitics, has emphasizing force. It is particularly common in optative and hortatory sentences. Examples are:

ya'a'iχv·n·iχa' '*ɔai*' die-would-I-indeed (for '*ɔai*' see § 60, 3), would that I might die!

paiyı'k·ıŋuŋǫ̇v·ŋwaχa' '*ɔai*' return-hither-momentaneous-would-he-indeed, would that he might come back!

ïv^{w}ï''raŋwaxa'^{a} quna'i '*ɔai*' *ya·'m·ıava·'aq·WA* let-us-then fire it shall-go-get-it

nɔ·'q·aniχa'^{a} do ye, then, carry me!

ïv^{w}ï''χa' uv^{w}a'nU nam·ï'χa'nintcuxwa'^{a} go-ahead-thou-then over-there first- house-make-go; go ahead, then, over there and first make a house

m^{w}α'ŋaya·'^{a}xa'^{a} that one, indeed

(c) *-γwa-* SHOULD, OUGHT. This enclitic is doubtless identical with preterital *-γwa-* (1, b above). When used as modal enclitic of obligation or in mild imperatives, it is followed by enclitic *-n·oa-* (see e below). Examples are:

(u)m^{w}α'nIᶻk̲aim·ıaγwar'uan·oA thus- resultative-usitative-should- interrogative-probably; that is not how one should act, be

m^{w}α'n·ıavim·ıaγwar'uan·oA dit. except that *-avi-* TO LIE is substituted for resultative *-k̲·ai-*; one should not be thus lying

qarï''mıaχwa'n·oA sit-usitative-should-thou-probably, you shall stay

ïv^{w}ï'χwa·ŋan·oA go-ahead-should-him-probably, go ahead and—him!

(d) *-n·ia-* LIKE. This is one of the most constantly recurring enclitics. Though its primary significance is that of resemblance, it is employed in several fairly distinct nuances of meaning and enters into many idiomatic turns of expression. Its primary meaning is clearly illustrated in:

ųnı'c·unı' *naya'p̣·a·ŋUpïγa*' thus-again-like appeared, (it) looked just like before

aχa'niniaNI naya'ϕA^{x}qa' how-like-I appear? what do I look like?

sɔ·''ıtsını' like a soldier

mų'an·in·ı' like my father (note that *-n·ıa-* follows possessive *-n·i-* my, but precedes subjective or objective pronominal enclitic; cf. second example above)

A dubitative tinge is often present, in which case *-n·ia-* may be rendered IT SEEMS, AS IT WERE, AS THOUGH, e. g.:

pAˣqa'ŋUtï'qantïnıa·'q̇·aŋA naya'vai' kill-passive-having-been-like-it-he seems, it seems that he has been killed, it looks as though he has been killed

qU'qwı'va·p·ïγain'nı'aŋWA shoot-future-past-like-him, acted as though about to shoot him

cina'ŋwavin·ı' coyote, it seems

This dubitative tinge may become so deepened as to justify the rendering of *-n·ia-* as PERHAPS, e. g.:

tï'ma'q·Aqain·an·ıaraŋ 'uŋWA roast-plural subject-perfective-verbal noun-like-our he, perhaps the one whom we have roasted

u'u'ŋwani'amI tïnı'aŋq̈ïq·a'aimI he-like-thee tell-to-perfective-thee, maybe he has been telling you

The idea of resemblance may also shade off into that of limit or emphasis, e. g.:

tïna·'ava·ntïm·anaŋqwan·ıa·q·A bottom-at-being-from-like-its, from its very bottom

A number of verbs, chiefly such as indicate states of mind, are regularly used with enclitic *-n·ia-*, e. g. *tïŋwï-*. . *.n·ia-* TO HURRY; *ï'ït·a·mpaq·a-*. . *.n·ia-* TO BE TIRED OF; *ai-*. . *.n·ia-* TO THINK (lit., TO SAY, AS IT WERE; cf. *ai-* TO SAY); *a·ŋwaiyα-*. . *.n·ia-* TO BE DIZZY; *an·ıa-q·a-*. . *.n·ia-* WHAT DOES ONE CARE? (cf. *an·ıa-* WHAT? § 44, 1, d); *nantcui-*. . *.n·ia-* TO BE FIERCE; *i·-ŋwaru'a-q·ai-* . . *.n·ia-* TO BE WILLING, READY. Here belong also many verbs of sound or sound-imitation, e. g. *ampaiya-*. . *.n·ia-* TO MAKE A NOISE; *sɔ·a-*. . *.n·ia-* TO SOUND LIKE FLOWING WATER; *mv·a-*. . *.n·ia-* TO BUZZ, HUM; *ɔq·w'e-*. . *.n·ia-* TO SOUND LIKE COUGHING; and numerous sound-verbs with suffixed durative *-γa-* (see § 30, 1). For *-n·ia-* with numeral stems, see § 36, 1; with certain postpositions, § 50, 4: 7, 35, 39; with certain adverbs, § 60, 1.

Quite unclear is *-n'nia-* following demonstrative *ai-* (§ 43, 5) in cases like:

a'in'niaŋaxain· 'a'ik·ˣA that-like (?) -he- indeed said, that is what he *did* say

Its glottal stop is unexplained.

(e) *-n·oa-* DUBITATIVE. It is almost impossible to assign any definite significance to this enclitic. It seems to render a statement either more doubtful or less definite in application. It may have an impersonalizing function. It is nearly always combined with either modal *-γwa-* (see c above) or with an impersonal *-ɬ·ua-* (§ 29, 14) in its own or the following word. Examples of the former have been already given; see also *-c·uya-γwa-n·oa-* (h below). When combined with pronominal enclitics, *-n·oa-* regularly follows except in the case of *-n·i-* I, ME, which it precedes. Examples of *-n·oa-* with *-ɬ·ua-* are:

pa'iɬ·ua(i)yïn·oanɪ somebody calls me
uwa'n·untcan·ǫa sɔtsɪ'ŋʊɬu'ª over-there-past-indefinite peep-somebody, somebody peeped over there
sa'a'ŋqïɬuava·n·ɪa·ŋanoa make-mush-for-somebody-will-him-indefinite, somebody will make mush for him; mush will be made for him
ᵘmpa'i'cam·paminu' *tɔna't·ᵘ'α'va'* no-matter-thee-indefinite strike-somebody-shall, I don't care if you are struck

An example of *-n·oa-* unaccompanied by either *-γwa-* or impersonal *-ɬ·ua-* is:

mʷα'nintcu' *tï'qa'n·oa* thus-interrogative eat-indefinite? that is not how to eat! (cf. f below)

(f) *-ru'a-* (*-tcu'a-*, *-ntcu'a-*) INTERROGATIVE. Examples of interrogative *-ru'a-* are:

tɔna'va·n·ɪar'ɔa·ŋa'ŋa will he punch him?
ivi'yïro'ª art thou drinking?
qanɪ'va·ᵃtcaro'a·ŋaφï did he (arrive) at his own house?
qatcu'ru'ax·qa'ª *naŋqa'ŋwa'ª* not-interrogative-it-thou hear-negative? do you not hear it?
taŋwa'ru'a·ŋ aro''ª tooth-interrogative-his it-is? is it his tooth?

Examples of interrogative *-tcu'a-* (used after *i*) are:

sari·'tcɪtcu' *aro'ª* is it a dog?
ɔvɪ'tcu'a·ŋ ar aro''ana·ŋa stick-interrogative-his it his-being? is it his stick

Interrogative *-ntcu'a-* (used after *i* preceded by nasal, also after demonstrative *ai-*) is illustrated in:

imi'ntcu'ᵘ *tümpa'γa'* thou-interrogative mouth-have? have you a mouth?
a'intcu'an a'ik·ᵡa that-interrogative-I said? did I say so?

Sometimes the interrogative is used merely rhetorically, implying an inference, e. g.:

um^{w}a'rïar'u(w)a·ŋ$_{A}$ nï'nɪ a·'γawantcɪŋqïm^{w}ɬ' those (inanim. obj.)-interrogative-he me hide-from-usitative? so it is those (clothes) that he has been hiding from me!

wa·(a'i)yumɪk̲·aitcuaŋw have two been (here)? it looks as though two have been here!

pu(w)a'ru'(^{w})a(i)yuru'anɪ medicine-become-present-interrogative-I? I must be getting to be a medicine-man!

Very frequently the interrogative is employed as an ironical method of stating the negative, e. g.:

um^{w}a'nɪ^{z}k̲aimiaγwar'ɔno$_{A}$ thus-resultative-usitative-should-interrogative-indefinite? should one act thus? that is not how to do!

nï'nɪaro'^{a} s$_{A}$'pi'χava·nɪ me-interrogative-thou overcome-shall-me! you can't overcome me!

a'intcu'a·ŋ 'a'imɪ' that-interrogative-he say-usitative? that is not what he really means!

The interrogative frequently combines with a following *-γain·ia-* (see a above) in the meaning of IT SEEMS THAT. The enclitic *-n·ia-* (see d above) may be introduced between the two enclitics. Pronominal elements may separate the interrogative (or following *-n·ia-*) from *-γain·ia-*. Examples are:

pua'r'uava·r'ɔn·ɪχain·ɪ' medicine-become-shall-interrogative-I-apparently? it looks as though I shall become a medicine-man

ya'a'ik̲·aip·ïγaitcɔa·ŋaxain·ɪ' die-perfective-past-interrogative-he-apparently? he seems to have died (long ago)

tï'qa'q·ait·ua(i)yïr'uan·uaxain·ɪ' eat-perfective-impersonal-present-interrogative-indefinite-apparently? it seems that somebody has been eating

nɪŋwï'$_{RU}$qwat·uχwava·r'uan·ɪ(y)an·ɪχain·ɪ' person-under-to-shall-interrogative-like-I-apparently? it seems that I shall go under the person, i.e. be beaten

(g) *-rua-* (*-tcua-*, *-ntcua-*) *-r'ɔ-n·ia-* (also *-ntua-r'ɔ-n·ia-*) LIKE. The element *-rua-* (*-tcua-*, *-ntcua-*; *-ntua-*) has not been found alone, but only compounded with interrogative *-r'ɔ-* + enclitic *-n·ia-*. This compound enclitic has been found only with nouns. It follows possessive pronominal enclitics. Examples are:

w'a'p·ɪntuar'ɔn·ɪ' like a penis
qanɪ'ntcuar'ɔn·ɪ' like a house
w'a'(i)ya·ŋaruɑr'ɔn·ɪ' like his penis (obj.)

(h) *-c·uya-γwa-n·oa-* WOULD THAT! The element *-c·uya-* (*-c·ɪa-*, *-c·ɪa-*) has not been found alone, but only compounded with modal *-γwa-* (see c above) and generally *-n·oa-* (see e above). Pronominal enclitics come between the *-γwa-* and the *-n·oa-*, except, as usual, *-n·i-* I, ME, which follows *-n·oa-*. Examples are:

qU'qwɪ'ɬ·u'ac·uyaγwa·ᵃŋanoA shoot-impersonal-would that!-him-indefinite, I wish he would get shot!
qU'qwɪ'ɬ·u'ac·uγwaraminoA I wish we two (inclus.) would get shot!
qU'qwɪ'ɬ·u'ac·uγwanoanɪ would that I might get shot!

In this sense *-c·uya-γwa-n·oa-* is often attached to the verbal irrealis *-γo·-p·u-*, *-ŋqo·-p·u-* (see § 33, 1), e. g.:

tU'pu'n·ɪχu'puc·ɪaγwɔ(')n·o' wake-might-would that!-thou-indefinite, would that you might wake up!
tïna'ŋqwantïAcuyaχwɔn·o' *pïmpï'n'NI‡ḳaiŋuŋqo·p·U'cuyaχwɔn·o'* upward-being-objective-would that!-indefinite look (plur.)- momentaneous-might-would that!-indefinite, would that (they) might look up this way!

With *impï-* WHAT (see § 44, 1, c), *-c·uya-γwa-n·oa-* or, more briefly, *-c·uya-γwa-* adds a flavor of unreality: WHAT PRAY! Examples are:

impï'mA'cɪaχwan·ǫA what-with-would that!-indefinite; with what, pray, is one (to cut it up)? (i. e. there is no knife handy)

impï'A'ciaγwa·ŋA tï'qa'va' what-objective-would that!-he eat-shall? what, pray, will he eat? (i. e. there is no food to give him)

(i) *-c·a'a-* AND, BUT; THEN! This element is used partly as a connective or contrastive (AND, BUT), partly as an emphasizing particle (THEN!). In the latter use it is frequently appended to *ïvʷï-*, the hortatory adverb. Examples are:

nï''ca'ᵃ but I; I, for my part
maŋa'c·a'ᵃ but that one
ɪtcï''ca'ᵃ and this
ïvʷï''ca'ᵃ go ahead, then!
ïvʷï''ca'aŋwaχa'ᵃ *paiɪ'χwa'aiŋWA* go-ahead-thou-pray-him-then call-go-after-him! go ahead, then, go and call upon him!

(j) *-c·ampa-* ONLY, EXCEPT, BUT. The primary disjunctive significance of *-c·ampa-* is exemplified in:

nï'c·ampA only I, except me
m^{w}a'i'campa·^{a}ŋ 'aik·^{z}A that-only- he says, that is all he says
'i'nɪcam̥pan onɪ in-this-way-only-me do-so! enough of this to me!
imi'c·ampA thou alone, thou thyself!
marï'c·ampA piya'iɪpï'γa' that-only was left

Its use as disjunctive connective (BUT) is illustrated in:
o·'tcA'cam̥paŋwA break-wind-preterit-but-he, but he broke wind

The primary idea of ONLY shades off in idiomatic usage to other modal nuances, e. g.:

'i'nimiAcam̥panïm(w)ɪ in-this-way-travel (plur.)-only-we (excl.), we ALWAYS do so when traveling
qarï'c·ampA sit-only, JUST stay
ma(·)va'campa·^{a}ŋA there-only-he, RIGHT there he
a'ik·^{z}campan·ɪanɪ say-only-like-I, I think so (*ai-*. . *.n·ɪa-* TO THINK, see d above)
qï'ï'c·ampanɪ bite-only-me! EVEN SO bite me
nɪŋwï'RUqwat·uγwaq·an·ac·amparaŋwA person-under-to-plural-nominal-only-our (incl.); our being beaten, IT WOULD SEEM

For its use with certain independent adverbs, see § 60, 2, a and d. Concessive significance (ALTHOUGH) is exemplified in:

qU'qwɪ'va·ts·sampA shoot-shall-gerund only, though being about to shoot
tïv^{w}i'ŋUqwat·u'ɑc·ampan 'ɔqi' ask-plural-impersonal-only-me (for *'ɔqi'* see § 60, 3), even if they ask about me
(u)ma'ivätccampA say-that-always-being-only, though (he) is wont to say that

For regular concessive clauses in *-kai-c·ampa-*, *-γu-c·ampa-* (*-ŋqu-c·ampa-*), *-yu-c·ampa-*, see § 55, 1, b, c, e).

(k) *-c·u-* ALSO, AGAIN, SAME. Etymologically this enclitic may be a reduced form of *cv·-* ONE. Examples of *-c·u-* in its primary significance are:

qU'qwɪ'p·ïγaaic·U shot again
ɥnɪ'c·un·ɪ' thus-again-like, just as before
mava·'(ai)yuc·U from that same place
nɔntsi'q·uc·U fly off again

Its meaning frequently shades off into that of JUST, ONLY (this goes well with its suggested etymology), e. g.:

tu(w)α'tsɪŋwαc·'uŋWA only his sons
marï'c·cu' *'anɪ'k̂·arïi'* that (inan.)- only do-sits, that alone do-sits, that alone is thus sitting
nï'nɪac·U me-just, myself

It is regularly used with *cv·*- ONE (e. g. *cv·'q·Ucutcαnɪ* one-objective-just-preterit-I; see § 59, 1), with certain adverbs (e. g. *wï·'t·uc·U* LONG AGO; *na'a·'c·U* SEPARATELY; *a'ïv^{w}ic·U* ENOUGH; see § 60, 2), and very commonly with independent third personal and reflexive pronouns (see § 39, 1; § 46). For its employment with subordinating verbal suffixes (*-kai-*, *-ku-*), see § 55, 1, b, e. It has largely lost its individuality with personal pronouns, as indicated by its double employment in forms like *marï'c·cu'* above, i. e. *marï'-c·u-*.

(l) *-c·uru'u-* NOR CAN. It was not found possible to elucidate this infrequently occurring enclitic satisfactorily. It is evidently compounded of *-c·u-* (see k above); perhaps *-ru'u-* was misheard for interrogative *-ru'a-*. Examples are:

imï'Acuru'unɪ thee-neither-I, neither (will) I (act thus to) you
nï'nɪac·Ucuru' *ava'ŋWɪtuγwanɪ* me-just-neither-thou it-into-me, nor could you (put) me into it

(m) *-y'a-* QUOTATIVE. Examples are:

ya'a'iya'^{a} die-quotative; (he) died, it is said
ya'a'iy'a·mï die-quotative-they; they died, it is said
maŋa'c·uya' *ya'a'iva·n·ɪ'* he-quotative die-future; he will die, they say
uv^{w}a''cuya'^{a} *tïŋqa'nʋïa(i)yaϕï* there-again-quotative cave-objective-own; in that same cave of his, it is said

(n) *-'* DUBITATIVE. This element, which follows pronominal enclitics, is often best translated PERHAPS, particularly when accompanied, in the same or following word, by the dubitative verbal suffix *-vï·-*, *-mpï·-* (see § 33, 2). It is also used in rhetorical questions. Examples are:

ɥnɪ'ŋUtsɪŋwa' *ivä·'ntï'* *tA'tcu''paŋumpï'* then-he-perhaps here-being-objective fall-down-might; then, perhaps, he fell down around here
uv^{w}a·''ŋwa' *qarï'vï'* there-he-perhaps sit-might, perhaps he lives there
'i'vä·ntuγwαc·ampa'q·wα' *uru''avï'* this-at-to-only-it-perhaps be-might, perhaps it is right up to here

maa'iva·mp̈ï·ŋwarami"ⁱ find-shall-might-he-us 2 (incl.)- perhaps, he might find us two

axa'n·iχainɪ pᴀᶻqa'xa.in·i"ⁱ how-subordinate-me kill-subordinate-me-perhaps? why act thus to kill me?

impï'aŋwï tïγɪ'p·ïn·ɬ̬·arïxaim·į̈"ⁱ what-you (plur.) food-look-for-sit-subordinate-dual-perhaps? what (are) you two (doing) looking for something to eat?

It is this enclitic, perhaps, which appears in certain expressions that are difficult to analyze:

ma'ip·i(y)a'ᵃ so-say-passive participle-objective-perhaps, (it) was only said so

cu(w)a'ɪ'pi(y)a'ᵃ be-glad-passive participle-objective-perhaps, (it) was meant for welcome words

(o) *-aq·a-* imperative particle. This element will be referred to again when the imperative is discussed (§ 52).

(p) *-ya-* dual-plural subject particle in imperatives. This also will be taken up under imperatives (§ 52).

(3) NOT EASILY CLASSIFIABLE ENCLITICS. Two or three elements not easily classified and, in part, of doubtful significance, may be conveniently grouped here.

(a) *-a-*, *-'a-*. I have been quite unable to determine what either of these enclitics indicates. They precede pronominal enclitics, but follow certain other enclitic elements (e. g. *-tca-*, see 1, a above; *-c·u-*, see 2, k above). They are probably found in *-a-γain·ia-* (2, a) and *-γwa-'a-* (1, b), as already suggested. Examples are:

ᴀ'p̈ï'inac·uan ɥnï'k·ᶻᴀ sleep-noun-again-? - I do, I do nothing but sleep (for idiomatic use of *-na-c·u-*, see § 62)

qatcu'anɪ not -? - I, I did not

qatcu'a·ŋanɪ p̈i̯nɪ'ŋwɑ'ᵃ not -?- him - I see- negative, I did not see him

iva·'n·'ɪan·ɪχain·ɪ' this-at-be (§ 26, 2, c) -?- I-just, right here I was (*-a-n·ɪ-χain·ɪ'* is enclitic correspondent of independent *nï'-axain·ɪ'*; see 2, a above)

tïγɪ'p·į̈n·in'nɪaro'ᵃ food-look-for-continuative -?- interrogative-thou? are you looking for something to eat?

'i·'c·'u(w)anɪ (< *'i·-c·u-'a-nɪ*) long-ago-?-I

nava'c·u'an a'ik·ᶻᴀ yaxa'xa' just-for-fun -?- I say crying, I cry just for fun

ivä·'ntuγwatca'anɪ pAˣqa'ŋ'uŋwA this-at-to-preterit- ? - I kill-him, I killed him at this place

Such examples as the second, third, and fourth suggest a preterital value for these troublesome elements, but this is rendered very doubtful by the occurrence of *-tca-'a-* and *-γwa-'a-* and of such forms as *qatcu'-tca-nɪ* NOT-PRETERIT- I.

(b) *-p·ïtsɪ-* DEAR. This is merely a compound suffix: *-p·ï-* (§ 24, 1, d) + diminutive *-tsɪ-* (§ 35) or *-p·ïtsɪ-* (§ 24, 1, g). It seems to be preceded by an accessory '. It is listed as an enclitic here because it may follow possessive pronominal enclitics, e. g:.

pa'a'nɪpïts· aunt (*paa-*) -my-dear, my auntie
moα'n'ɪ'puts· my (dear) father (cf. *moα'nɪ* my father)
pɪya'n'ɪ'puts· my (dear) mother (more affectionate than *piya'nɪ* my mother)

(4) ORDER OF ENCLITIC ELEMENTS. The enclitics follow one another in a rather definitely prescribed order. The following scheme is believed to be substantially correct:

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
-c·u-	*-y'a-*	*-(n)tca-*	*-a-*,	*-ru'a-*	*-n·ia-*	pronoun	*-n·oa-*	*-γa'a-*
(2, k)	(2, m)	(1, a)	*-'a-*	(2, f)	(2, d)		(2, e)	(2, b)
	-c·uya-	*-γwa-*	(3, a)	*-ya-*		*-aq·a-*		*-γain·ia-*
	(2, h)	(1, b;	*-rua-*,	(2, p)		(2, o)		(2, a)
		2, c)	*-ntua-*					-' (2, n)
			(2, g)					*-p·ïtsɪ-*
								(3, b)

There are a few exceptions to this rule of order, no doubt, but only a few. By "pronoun" is meant subjective and objective enclitic pronominal elements, also possessive *-vï-* ONE'S OWN (§ 40, 4); other possessive pronominal enclitics are, with certain enclitics, attached directly to the noun (or noun + derivative suffixes), with others to the enclitic (e. g. interrogative *-r'ua-*). The order of pronominal enclitics among themselves will be dealt with later (§ 41, 1). If position 7 is occupied by *-n·i-* I, ME, it follows position 8 (see 2, e above).

§§ 20–22. PREFIXES.

§ 20. *Adverbial prefixes.*

Most of the adverbial prefixes are prefixed to verb and adjective-verb forms, one or two to other parts of speech. In origin they are

doubtless all stems which, once independent, have become restricted in usage to composition. In some cases, indeed, a plausible connection can be established with independent stems.

(1) *a·-ᵉ* QUIETLY, GRADUALLY:

a·'tca'aiḵ·a‘ to hold quietly, keep quiet
a·'χarïi‘ sits quietly
a·'ᵃy'ai‘ gradually dies
a·'ŋwA‘tsɪŋ'umï gradually catch up with them

(2) *i·-ᵍ* BEFOREHAND, READILY:

i·'ⁱt·ɪ‘qai‘ eats beforehand, willingly; is ready to eat
i·'ⁱḵ·A‘qaRï to run away beforehand
i·''ɪnk·ˣqaɪ‘pïγa‘ got ready, were ready
‘i·'ⁱŋwaru'Aˣqantɪn·ɪ‘ who is willing, ready
i·'p·ɔtsɪn'ɪˣḵainɪ I (am) ready to start off

(3) *ï'-ᵍ* IN VAIN:

ï'p·ïn·in'ni‘ looks around in vain

(4) *nam·ï-ᵉ* FIRST:

nam·ï'ivim·i‘ always drinks first
nam·ï'ⁱᵛaip·ïγa‘ (< *nam·ï'-y'ai-*) died first
nam·o·'ᵘᵠʷit·U‘pïγa‘ (< *nam·ï'-uvʷit·u-*) sang the first song
nam·ï'vʷaxai‘ goes first
nam·ï'χaχa·n·av u'mA first-sing-noun-own it-with, with his first song

This element is sometimes also found with primary nouns, e. g.:

nam·u'ruwatsɪnɪ first-son-little-my, my first-born son

(5) *nan·ɪ-ᵍ* SEPARATELY (cf. independent adverb *nan·ɪ'c·U* SEPARATELY, § 60, 2, d):

nan·ɪ'p·aaitcA separately-three-times, three each (see Numerals)
nan·ɪ't·ɪ‘qaq·ai‘ (they) eat separately

(6) *ɔn·ɔ-ᵍ* EARLY, JUST PAST:

ʔnɔ't·A‘ciaŋqU early-dawn-when, very early in the morning
ɔnɔ't·uγwar'uintï early-night-become-participle, early in the night
ɔnɔ't·avai‘ early-day-present, (it) is early in the day
ɔn·ɔ'p·itcɪ early-arrive, to have just arrived
ʔnɔ't·ɔvun'niχa‘ when just waking up (assimilated from *-tuvun'ni-*)

(7) *paï-*^{n} PERFECTLY, ALTOGETHER (perhaps identical with adjective-verb *paï-*^{n} TO BE SMOOTH):

paï'mpa·n'nɔaγantï perfectly hollow (used of park or valley)
paï'mpɔ·t·ɔ^{x}*qwaʀï* perfectly spherical
paï'ntɔγ(ɔ)imU'quntaʀï perfectly-just-straight (see 15 below)
paï'yua·χantï perfectly-plain-being, level desert with little or no vegetation

Probably identical with this is *pa·-* ENTIRELY (for *a·* < *aï* see § 4, 1) in:

pa·'m·anun·ι' entirely-all, every single one
pa·'tsιŋqoŋqo'^{o} entirely destroyed (as of field trampled down by people)

(8) *pi·-*^{s} BACK (cf. instrumental *pi-*^{g} below; § 21, 3):

pi·'vïnιɬ·a' to look back

(9) *pim·i-* BACK AND FORTH (cf. no. 8 above; instrumental *pi-*^{g}; and independent *pimi't·ux·wA* BACKWARD, § 60, 2, b):

pim·ι'ŋwï'ɬ·ai' (they) dance back and forth

(10) *pïŋqa-*^{s} TO KEEP ON -ING:

pïŋqa'ʀIqa'^{a} keep on eating!
pïŋqa'avιp·ïγa' kept lying down
pïŋqa'maip·ïγa' kept on saying
pïŋqa''ampaχai' keeps on talking
pïŋqa'm·a(·)n·ιγïnI I do so very (fast)
pïŋqa'vaaip·ïγa'aik·wA kept calling it
pïŋqa'ŋwa'aŋu' keeps shouting

(11) *cv·-*^{g} VERY (probably identical with numeral stem *cv·-* ONE):

cv·'a'iγïi' is very good, feels very well
sv·'p·a'antï very high
cv·'MU^{x}*qunta'mιap·ïγa'* went right ahead
su·'tcaχιp·A very near

(12) *cu(w)a-*^{s} NEARLY:

cua'ϕA^{x}*qaŋuntsanι'*^{i} nearly-kill-preterit-me-thou, you nearly killed me
cuwa'ŋwA'tcïp·ïγa'aimï nearly caught up with them
cua'rɔγɔMU'quntaʀï nearly straight

cuwa'ʀUpʷik·upïγa' were nearly all gone, used up
cua'ruγwıp·ïγa' (fire) was nearly out
cuwa'rɔγɔmA'cüŋwıYU nearly-ten, nine

This element is probably identical with *cuwa-ᵍ* in:

cuwa'p·itci' wakes up (lit., nearly-arrives)

(13) *ta-ⁿ* FAR; used only, so far as known, in *tantï'vʷai-* FAR WEST (cf. *tïvʷai-* DOWN, WEST):

tantï'vʷaip·a' in a far-western land
tantï'vʷaiuvʷıaφï far-western songs

(14) *tï·-ⁿ* WELL, THOROUGHLY:

tï·'ntɔγɔq·wıpïγa' ran well, was on a dead run
tï'ntıˣqai' eats well, eats a grand feast
tï''ampaγai' talks well, has a good talk
tï·'ŋwa'aŋıı' gives a good shout

(15) *tɔγ(ɔ)i-ᵍ*, *tɔγ(w)i-ᵍ*, more rarely *tɔγɔ-ᵍ* JUST, RIGHT, IN MIDST OF. This prefix is very common and occurs freely with all parts of speech. Examples are:

tɔγɔ'it·avai' (it) is mid-day
tɔγɔ'n·ᵛivʷaı'tïmʷïn·ı' just-I-comparable-being-plural-like, equal to me (in strength) (*tɔγɔ'n·ᵛi-* < *tɔγɔ'in·ï-*)
tɔγɔ'MU'quntaŋqw'aip·ïγa' went right straight ahead
tɔγɔ'ip·a'antï just high (enough)
tɔγɔ'it·ı'qai' is right in eating, is about half through eating
tɔγᵊi'm·ava'anA right above that
tɔγʷı'aŋaruq·wA right under him
tɔγɔ'iŋqwıyumpa·ŋqunı right on the center of my head

§ 21. *Instrumental prefixes.*

Under this term are included a considerable number of elements of prevailingly instrumental significance. They are used chiefly with verb forms, but not exclusively. In nouns they may in part be employed non-instrumentally, nor is the properly instrumental function always apparent in verb forms. Their origin is largely obscure, but certain analogies suggest strongly that they are on the whole specialized forms of incorporated nouns with instrumental function (see § 18, 2, f, *α*); to some extent they may be related to verb stems.

(1) *ma-*^{s} (*man-* before *tc, ts*) HAND. This prefix is clearly related to, but not directly derived from, independent *mɔ'ɔ-*^{s} HAND. It is found in one form or other in all Uto-Aztekan dialects (e. g. Tübatulabal independent *ma-*; Fernandino, Luiseño *-ma*; Tarahumare, Pima *ma-*; Nahuatl *ma-* in compounds and as instrumental prefix). It is very common as instrumental verb prefix, many verbs not occurring without it. Its great age is indicated by the presence of verbs in *ma-ŋw-*, spirantized from *ma-m-*. Instrumental (in part apparently objective) examples of verb forms are:

mavi'tcA^{x}qiŋqï to crush with one's hand
maγu'x·ɪk̨a' to point at
mavi'tsɪγɪ' claps (his) hands
maγa·'i' tests by feeling
maγu'tcu'ɪ' feels around, picks at (ear, tooth, arm-pit)
mayu'(w)ai' rubs with (his) hand
mayu'm'U^{x}kwiŋqï to nudge with one's finger
marïŋqa- to create
maγarï- to protect
ma(i)yu'n·aq·ai(y)aŋA to have arms around his neck
maχɔ'p·in'NA to break (trans.)
ma'a'ip·a' to stretch out one's hands palm up
ma'nɪ'k·I to stick one's hand in (water)
maŋwï'n'ɪcɪŋqïaŋA roll him over (< *ma-* + *mïn'ɪc·ɪ-* to turn)
maŋwï''ɥna·ŋqï'p·ïγa' tore out of ground with hands (cf. *tam·ï''ɥna·ŋqï* to dig out by scraping or poking with foot)
maɔ'p·A^{x}qa·ŋqï to make a hole by sticking one's hand into
naŋwa'(i)yumNA^{x}qa'aimï they two hold arms around each other's necks (< *na-ma-*; see § 22, 1)
mantca'va.i' waves (his) hand
mantca·'ŋqïp·ïγaiyaq·A reached for it

A few verbs have *ma-*^{g}, e. g.:

MA'*pi'k·I* to touch with one's hand
MA'*tca'i'αŋqïp·ïγa'aik·WA* reached for it
MA'*ci'q·ɪa(i)yïnI* my hands are cold
MA'*cü'ŋwi-* ten (i. e. hands-completed?)

Examples of *ma-*^{g} and *man-* (before *tc, ts*) in noun compounds are:

MA'*cï'uφI* finger
MA'*pa'(i)ya·vuφI* hand-surface, palm

mantca'q̇·oiɸɪ flesh from elbow to wrist
mantsi'vïɸɪ bone from elbow to wrist

(2) *mu-ˢ* (*mun-* before *tc, ts*) NOSE (cf. independent *muvʷi-ᵍ* NOSE). Verb examples are:

muvʷa'ntuiˈ shakes head from side to side (like a horse)
murɔ'nA to strike with one's nose
moγo'inaiˈ takes off with (his) nose
muntca''aiḵ·aˈ to hold with one's nose
muntca·'ru'ɪˈ holds up (his) nose in the air

mu-ᵍ is found in noun compounds, e. g.:

MUˈpʷi'k·ɪɸɪ nasal mucus

(3) *pi-ᵍ* BUTTOCKS, REAR (for *pi-* as independent stem cf. *pimɪ'-t·ux·WA* BACKWARD, § 60, 2, b). Verb examples are:

pɪˈtcu'q·wɪn'NA to crush with one's buttocks, by sitting on
pɪˈtï'ŋwaiˈ closes by pushing with (his) buttocks
pɪˈḵo'i'naiˈ lets (his) trousers down (*-qoi'na-* to remove an article of clothing)
pɪᶻḵi'ḵ·in·iˈ to sound like a slap on the buttocks (face, or other soft part)

Examples of *pi-ᵍ* in noun compounds are:

pɪˈtɔ''ɔmpɪ rump-fat
pina's·iχαnɪ my rear-cleft, my crotch

(4) *pï-ᵍ, pu-ᵍ* EYE (cf. independent *pu'i-ˢ* EYE):

pïˈtï'na(i)yïaŋA follows him with (his) eye
pUˈca'γaip·ïγaiaŋA looked for him

This is an uncommon prefix. A nominal example is:

pUˈtï'ŋqanɪɸïˈ eye-cave, superciliary ridge

(5) *qï-ᵍ* TEETH (cf. perhaps verb-stem *qï'ï-* TO BITE):

qïˈtcɪ'tcuχwɪˈ grinds, gnashes (his) teeth
qïˈtcɔ'χw'a.iˈ chews
qïnɪ'p·uχwɪˈ (mouse) gnaws
qïu'ŋwqiˈ hangs by (his) teeth

qï'qa'vɪtcai' breaks (them) in (his) mouth, by grinding with (his) teeth
qï'tcv·'i' squeezes between (his) teeth
qï'ca'ra·q·aip·ïγa' (his) mouth remained open

(6) *ta-ᵍ* FOOT (cf. perhaps verb-stem *taŋa-* TO KICK). Verbal examples of this very common prefix are:

tᴀ'pu'q·wɪ- to jump
tᴀ'qu'q·wɪ- to foot-shoot, to kick one's feet out into the air
ta·'q·ï- to feel with one's foot
taya'nunuŋqɪ- to have one's feet dangling
tᴀ'qwi'p·a- to stumble
taŋ'wï'tcɪγɪ- to keep time by tapping with one's foot
ta'ɔra- to dig a hole with the foot
tᴀ'tcu'n'na- to scratch around with claws
tᴀ'ci'n·'aiɣïnɪ my feet burn from cold
tᴀ'qo'itcai' takes off (his) footwear
taa'in·i' touches with the feet
tama'χa·i' tests (its) depth with the foot
nïvʷa'ʀᴀ'tɔn'ɴɪ'tïŋwava'pïγa' snow-foot-shake-make-noise-past, made a noise of stamping snow off (his) feet

Noun compounds with *ta-ᵍ* are, e. g.:

tan·a's·ɪχaɸɪ foot-cleft, split in hoof, spaces between toes
tᴀ'pa'ia·ɸï sole (of moccasin)
tᴀᶻqu'c·ɪ top piece stitched on to upper of moccasin

(7) *tɔ-ᵍ* FIST (cf. perhaps verb-stem *tɔna-* TO PUNCH):

tɔ'tca·'rɔ'ɪ' shakes (his) fist (at)
tɔ'pa't·ᴀᶻqiŋqï to burst (trans.) by punching
tɔ'tï'ŋwai' closes up (a hole) by punching (his) fist (against it)
tɔ'pa'raiva·n·ɪa·m·ïnɪ I shall knock them down with (my) fist
tɔya'ᴜ'qwai' pushes in with (his) fist

(8) *tcɔ-ᵍ* HEAD (survival of old Uto-Aztekan stem for HEAD, cf. Nahuatl *tzon-tli*):

tcɔ'pa'ntui' shakes (his) head
tcɔmɔ'ntïγɪ' shakes (his) head
tcɔᶻqɔ'q·ɔin·ʏi' sounds like a noise of punching hard on head (or face)

As first element in noun compounds it occurs, e. g., in:

tcɔ'pɪ'k·ɪ- brains

(9) *tsɪ-^{g}* WITH THE POINT OF A LONG OBJECT, STICK. This is a very frequent instrumental prefix. Examples are:

tsɪmï'n·ɪ'caiˈ turns (meat put to roast on red-hot ashes) with a stick
ts·tsa'ŋki'aq·aˈ to hold on a pole
ts·qu'r'uiˈ pokes in a hole with the point of a stick
ts·tu'n'naiˈ braces (house, tree) with a pole
ts·pɔ·'iˈ tries to remove (splinter from flesh) by prying out with a point (e. g. of needle)
tsɪnï'ntcïkiŋqï to shake with the end of a stick
tsɪŋwï'n·aiva·ŋA will throw him (in) with a stick
tsɪŋwï''ɪŋqï to knock down with a stick
ts·k̨a'vinaiˈ cuts (with a knife)

(10) *wï-^{g}* WITH THE LENGTH OF A LONG OBJECT, STICK. The applicability of the primary meaning of this prefix is sometimes obscured. Examples of its use are:

wïˈpɔ'n'nɔaiˈ drums
wi̯nɪ'ruxwɪˈ moves a stick back and forth on the notched rasp
wïˈqɔ'p·in'NA to break against the edge of something
wïˈqa'vitcaiˈ cuts several objects
wïˈpa'raiˈ knocks (them) down by slashing with a stick
wïˈpï't·ˈkɪŋUpïγaˈ grazed (it) with (his) wing
wïˈqa'm'mɪ- to cover
wïˈtɔ'n'nɔ.iˈ shakes (e. g. a blanket)
naŋqa'vaŋwïpantuγwɪγïnɪ ear-instrumental-shake-iterative-present-I, I shake my ears

A few examples of *wi-*, before *y*, may contain another form of this element:

wiyu'm'MU^{x}qwɪŋqï to hit slightly (as with a willow switch) on the edge (cf. *mayu'm'MU^{x}kwiŋqï* to nudge, poke with the finger)
wi'yɑ'ŋqï·'na- to cut notches, *wi'yɑ'ŋqï'na-q·ai-* to have notches cut into (itself)

(11) *ta-^{g}* BY THROWING, WITH A STONE (cf. perhaps verb-stem *tavi-* TO THROW A STONE). Externally it is identical with *ta-^{g}* FOOT (see 6 above). Examples are:

tan·ï'ntcïkiŋqï to shake by throwing an object at (it)
tAˈpa'raiˈ knocks (them) down with stones
taŋwï''ɪŋqï to knock (it) down with a rock

tA'cɪ'n'ɪˣqava·raŋwA let us all play the ring-and-pin game
tAˣqa'.iyuŋwɪ- to split in two by hitting on a stone
yu'o'RAˣqɔp·ɪn'NA leg-instrumental-break, to break a leg by throwing a stone at (it)

Cf. also, as example of a noun compound:

tA'cɪ'ŋwɑmpï coarse gravel (cf. *cɪŋwɑ'mpï* gravel)

(12) *qu-ᵍ* FIRE (cf. independent noun stem *qun·a-* FIRE; also independent Shoshonean **ku-*, e. g. Tübatulabal *gu-t*, Cahuilla *ku-t*):

qumu'ntuaRïpï'γa' heated stones by putting them on the fire
qU'tu'n·ɥi' drills for fire
qU'pa'ra·χai' pops in the fire
qU'tsɪ'k·iyïnI I build a fire
qǫnɔ'yɔχwai' water boils
qU'tsɪ''ai' roasts on a spit
qoq·wavɪtcayï' breaks it in half by burning over the fire (song form)

(13) *cï-ᵍ* COLD (survival of Uto-Aztekan stem **se-*, cf. Nahuatl *ce-ti*). This element is not freely used, but occurs only in certain stereotyped forms, e. g.:

cï'pï'rai' (object) is cold
cï'pa'i'aiyïnI I feel cold (lit., I die of cold; *cïp·a-* as incorporated noun has not been otherwise found)
cï'pï'χurutca·q·aip·ï'γain·ɪ' felt as though a cold breeze were in his head
cï'tu''ɪ' (it) is cold weather
cï'pï'n·ɻ·ain·ɪ' (it is) draughty, chilly
MA'ci'q·ɪaiyïnI my hands are cold

(14) *ta-ˢ* SUN, HEAT (cf. independent *tava-* SUN, DAY). This element also occurs only in certain stereotyped forms:

taro''ɪ' (it) is hot weather (cf. *cï-t·u'i-* above)
tA'cï'a-ⁿ to be dawn
tA'cï'p·a-ˢ to be evening

Possibly also:

tavai- to set (brush) on fire
tavac·u- to dry in the sun

(15) *tca-ᵍ*. This prefix is fairly common and is clearly instrumental in force, as shown, e. g., by its alternation with other instrumental

prefixes (e. g. *ma-*^{s}, *ta-*^{g}, *tsɪ-*^{g}). Its precise force, however, is far from clear. Perhaps it denotes indefinite instrumentality. In some cases it seems to refer, like *ma-*, to the HAND. Examples are:

tcA'pa'ntuï' shakes (with the hand) (cf. *tA'pa'ntu-* to shake with the feet)
tcq'ų'wa.i' scratches (with the hand) (cf. *tq'ų'wa.i'* scratches with the foot)
tcA^{x}qo'itcai' takes off clothes (cf. *maγo'itcai'* takes off gloves, bracelets, armlets)
tca·'mpïn'na·- to raise so as to uncover (*tca-ï'mpïn'na·-*) (cf. *maï'-mpïn·a·ŋqï-* to raise covering from)
tcA^{x}pa'q·ɪn'NA to tear into two pieces; *tcA^{x}pa'γ(a)itca-* to tear to pieces (cf. *tɔ'pa'γɪtca-* to rip open in several places; *wii'ŋwï'paq·ɪn'NA* knife-edge-tear-momentaneous-causative, to rip open with a knife)
tcan·o'ŋqwa·ŋqïva·n·ɪ' will pull (feathers, hairs) out by force
tcA'pu'ruχwɪ' scatters (trans.), sows (seeds)
tcA^{x}pï'nɪkiŋʊpïγain·ɪ' (it) appeared like open, darkness cleared up

(16) *ɔ-*, assimilated *u-* ROUND OBJECT, HOLE (*ɔ-*^{g} before momentaneous forms, *ɔ-*^{s} before durative forms). This element occurs only in a few stereotyped forms:

ɔ'pa'q·ɪ- to be (one-)holed, participle *ɔ'pa'q·(a)itcï* with a hole, *ɔv^{w}a'xɪtcai-* to have holes (derivatives from *-paq·ɪ-*, *-paγɪ-* to tear, see under *tca-* above)
ʊ'pu'q·wɪ- to bounce (like a ball) (cf. *tA'pu'q·wɪ-* to jump).

This element is not a true instrumental, but rather a stereotyped objective classifier. It may, indeed, be used with true instrumental prefixes, e. g. *maɔ'p·A^{x}qa·ŋqï-* TO MAKE A HOLE BY STICKING ONE'S HAND INTO.

A few verbs in *u-*^{g} referring to SLEEP or CLOSING ONE'S EYES may possibly contain this element (ROUND OPENING metaphorically > EYE?):

ʊ'tu'c·uŋwï'ɪ- to cause to go to sleep (cf. *tʊ'cu'ŋ'wɪ-* to exercise power upon, to cause to do as one wishes)
ʊ'tcu'm'mɪ- to have one's eye's closed, *ʊ'tcu'm'ma·-* to close one's eyes

It is just as possible, however, that this *u-*^{g} is assimilated from an *ï-*^{g} that appears also in *ït·ï'ŋ'wa-ampaγa-* TO TALK IN ONE'S SLEEP.

(17) *pa-*^{s} WATER. This is nothing but the incorporated noun stem *pa·-*^{s}, *pa-*^{s} WATER used instrumentally. It is listed here as a

prefix because it occurs in a number of verbs whose bare stems are not found in use without it:

patca'q·wa·- to get wet, *patca'q·wi-* to be wet
parï'γi- to wash (trans.), *nava'rïγi-* to wash oneself
patca'q·ïŋwa- to water, irrigate

Less probably also:

nava'q·ï- to bathe (intrans.) (non-reflexive *-paq·ï-* not found)

The instrumental prefixes are much more closely connected with the verb stem proper than any other elements preceding the stem, e. g. adverbial prefixes, reflexive *na-* (see § 22, 1), or incorporated nouns. An instrumental prefix comes nearest the stem. Owing to this close connection, the psychological analysis becomes somewhat obscured at times, so that the notion of instrumentality may be repeated in a preceding incorporated noun, e. g. *wii'-ŋwï'paq·ɪn'*NA TO RIP OPEN WITH A KNIFE (contains both instrumental incorporated noun *wii-* KNIFE and instrumental prefix *-ŋwï-* < *-wï-* WITH THE BLADE OF A LONG OBJECT). Sometimes an instrumental prefix is so closely identified with the stem that it may be preceded by another instrumental prefix, e. g. *mA'pi'k·i-* TO TOUCH (that *ma-*^{g} is a prefix is indicated by parallel *tA'pi'k·i-* TO TOUCH WITH THE FOOT): *wïma'-p·ik·I* TO TOUCH WITH THE EDGE OF A STICK, *tɔma'p·ik·I* TO TOUCH WITH THE FIST.

§ 22. *Reflexive and reciprocal prefixes.*

(1) *na-*^{s} SELF, EACH OTHER (*nan-* before *tc, ts*). Properly speaking, forms in *na-*^{s} are nothing but compounds of reflexive pronominal stem *na-* (for independent *na-* with postpositions, see § 46) and verb-stem or noun-stem (for type of compound see § 18, 2, c; 1, i). The element *na-* is so frequently and idiomatically used, however, that it seems advisable to treat it as a prefix.

Its primary significance is reflexive, e. g.:

pïn·i- to see
navï'nɪtwiɬ·ai(y)aŋanI he let me see himself

uŋwai- to hang
nąų'waip·ïγa' hung (him)self

a·ŋa-ru- to make a piñon jay
na'a·'^{a}*ŋaRUqwąumpa'* shall turn (them)selves into piñon jays

sa'a- to boil
NA'sa''ai' boils (him)self, takes a sweat-bath

parïχɪ- to wash (trans.)
nava'rïχɪ' washes (him)self

Many verbs in *na-* have an indirect reflexive or mediopassive significance. Not infrequently the stem is not in use without the prefixed *na-*. Examples are:

-qa·- (stem not used alone)	*naγa·-* to wear (clothing)
-to·'a- (stem not used alone)	*naro·'a-ŋu-* to have (one's skin) on
-paq·ï- to bathe (bare stem not in use)	*nava'q·ïpïγa'* bathed (them)-selves
-qut·cï'a- (for *qu-*^{g} see § 21, 12)	*naγu't·cï'a-* to burn up (intrans.)

A very common derivative of the primary idea of *na-* is that of reciprocity, generally of the subject, less often of the object, e. g.

quq·wi- to shoot	*naγu'q·wɪŋqï-* to shoot at each other, i. e. to fight
tɔn·a- to punch	*nï'aŋA narɔ'n'naŋqïi'* I-him self-punch-to-present, I have a fist-fight with him
kwɪp·a- to hit	*naγwɪ'p·a^{x}qap·ïγa'* (they) hit each other
maγa- to give	*naŋwa'xaŋqï-* self-give-to, i. e. to pay
tïntïnia- to tell (on)	*narï'ntïnia(i)yï'ïmï* they tell on each other
tïv^{w}iŋu- to ask	*narï'v^{w}iŋuq·wai'* (they) ask one another
-tsɪn'na- (stem not used alone)	*nantsɪn'na-* to joint, cause to be joined together

Reduplicated *nana-*, to express either iteration or distribution of reflexive-reciprocal activity (see § 58, 3 and 4), is common, e. g.:

na-ro·'q·wa- to stretch oneself	*nana'ro·q·wai'* stretches (him)-self several times
cv·yu-ŋqwai- . . . *c·u-* to be one	*nana'c·v·yuŋqwaiyuc·u* (they) being one by one

It is frequently employed where emphasis on reciprocity, as distinct from reflexive activity, is desired, even when not more than two actors are involved, e. g.:

wïnai- to throw down	*nana'ŋwi̯naiŋqïyïaŋanɪ* I throw each other with him, i. e. I wrestle with him
naruγwa- to oneself, to give to oneself	*nana'ruγwa(i)yïaq·A* (they) 2 give it to each other

The idea of reciprocity leads naturally to that of duality of terms involving mutual relationship, e. g.:

pavi- elder brother	*nava'vɪŋwï* two brothers
tcAˣqa'itsɪ- younger brother	*nantca'q·aitsɪŋwï* two brothers
moa(tsɪ)- father	*na'ŋ'wA'tsɪŋWï* self-fathers, father and son
pia- mother	*navï'aŋWï* self-mothers, mother and daughter (*or* son)
qum·a- husband	*naγu'm·aŋWï* self-husbands, husband and wife
qïmantsɪ- stranger	*naγï'mantsɪŋWï* two who are strangers to each other
tïγïvʷï- friend	*narï'χïvʷïŋWï* two friends
pai- three	*navai-* 2 x 3, i. e. six

Plurals of such dual reciprocals are formed by reduplicating *na-* to *nana-*, e. g. *nan·a'vavɪŋWï* (three or more) BROTHERS; *nana'-ŋ'watsɪ-ŋWï* FATHER AND SONS; *nana'rïγïvʷïŋWï* (three or more) FRIENDS.

(2) *nai-ⁿ*. This element, which is perhaps compounded of reflexive-reciprocal *na-* and an unexplained *-i-ⁿ*, occurs only in:

piŋwa- wife	*na'impiŋwa-* wife's sister, (man's) brother's wife, i. e. potential wife
quma- husband	*na'iŋquma-* husband's brother, (woman's) sister's husband, i. e. potential husband

§§ 23–37. DERIVATIVE AND FORMAL SUFFIXES.

§ 23. *Types of derivative and formal suffixes.*

By "derivative suffixes" are here understood such elements as have derivational rather than purely formal or syntactic value, i. e. such elements as help to build up the word as such from the stem rather than to relate the word to other words in the sentence. Under formal suffixes are not here included strictly syntactic elements.

Derivative and formal suffixes may be grouped into seven more or less clearly distinct types of elements. 1. Noun suffixes, including absolutive or classifying elements, elements defining possession, and tense elements; 2. Nominalizing suffixes, generally suffixed to verb stems, embracing agentive, instrumental, and verbal noun suffixes, certain special noun-forming elements, and participial suffixes; 3. Verbalizing suffixes, affixed to nominal, adjectival, or demonstrative stems; 4. Verbal derivative and formal suffixes, affixed to verb stems, embracing suffixes of movement, voice, verbal aspect, number, tense, and mode; 5. Diminutive *-(n)tsɪ-*, suffixed to both predicating and denominating terms; 6. Numeral suffixes; 7. Quasi-pronominal suffixes of special nature. In general it may be said that the derivative suffixes of Southern Paiute are, on the whole, of a general and colorless rather than of a specific or concrete nature.

§ 24. *Noun suffixes.*

(1) ABSOLUTIVE OR CLASSIFYING ELEMENTS. Many nouns end in a suffix that either suggests classification of the noun under a general category or that has little assignable significance except to render the noun absolute. Some of these elements disappear in composition or when the noun is used with a possessive pronominal enclitic, others may or may not. Some nouns appear with or without an absolutive suffix, e. g. *nï'ŋwï* and *nïŋwï'nts·* PERSON.

(a) *-vi-ⁿ*, *-p·i-ⁿ*, *-mpi-ⁿ* absolutive suffix implying indefiniteness or non-specification of possessor. These elements, which immediately follow the stem, are used with nouns expressing objects, persons, or relations that can hardly be thought of except in connection with other objects or persons, e. g. terms of relationship, body-part nouns, and substantivized local concepts (e. g. BOTTOM, SURFACE). They may be rendered by SOMEBODY'S, OF SOMETHING or, preferably, left untranslated. They always disappear with pronominal enclitics and in composition.

Examples of *-vi-ⁿ* are:

moa'-nɪ father-my	*moa'ɸɪ* (somebody's) father
paa'-nɪ aunt-my	*paa'ɸɪ* (somebody's) aunt
tï'tï'χɪvï-ˢ friends (plural, not reciprocal)	*tï'tï'χɪvïɸɪ* (one's) friends
taγa'p·ïa-nɪ servant-my	*taγa'p·ïaɸɪ* servant, one who serves another

tʊ'tu'χua-nɪ guardian-spirit-my	*tʊ'tu'χuaφɪ* guardian spirit
wï'cɪa·-ˢ feather	*wï'cɪ'a·φɪ* feather
yïnï-ˢ crown of head (e. g. *yïnï'-χantï* having a crown)	*yïnï'φɪ* crown of the head
mɔ'ɔ-ˢ hand	*mɔ'ɔ'φɪ* hand
ɔa·-ˢ back (e. g. *ɔa·ru-* to make a back)	*ɔa·'φɪ* back
pu'ɪ-ˢ eye (e. g. *pu'ɪ'-ŋwï'tuʷɔa-* to cover one's eyes)	*pu'ɪ'φɪ* eye
nɪ(y)a·'-nɪ name-my	*nɪ(y)a·'φɪ* name
ʊˣqwɪ'(y)u' arrow, *ʊˣqwɪ'(y)ʊ·-nɪ* arrow-my	*ʊˣqwɪ'(y)ʊ·φʷɪ* (somebody's) arrow
tïna·-ˢ bottom (e. g. *tïna·'aq·ᴀ* its bottom)	*tïna·'φɪ* bottom (of anything)
wïγa·-ˢ bank, edge	*wïxa·'ᵃφɪ* bank, edge (at top of precipice)
naŋwa'-nɪ tracks-my	*naŋwa'φɪ* tracks

Examples of *-p·i-ⁿ* are:

muʊʷi-ᵍ nose	*muʊʷɪ'p·ɪ* nose
paï-ᵍ blood	*paï'p·ɪ* blood
wï'a-ᵍ penis, *wï'a'(i)ya·ŋaruɑr'ɔ-n·ɪ'* like his penis (obj.)	*wï'a'p·ɪ* penis, *wï'a'p·ɪntuar'ɔn·ɪ'* like a penis (as such, not thought of as belonging to anyone)
tïra'χua-ᵍ center, middle	*tïra'χuap·ɪ'* center, middle (obj.)

Examples of *-mpi-ⁿ* are:

taŋwa-ⁿ tooth (e. g. *taŋwantu-* to make a tooth)	*taŋwa'mpɪ* tooth
aγɔ-ⁿ tongue (e. g. *aγɔ'ŋqwai-* to have a tongue)	*aγɔ'mpɪ* tongue

It should be carefully noted that even when the noun is uncompounded or used without other derivative suffix, it does not take the absolutive suffix when its possessor (person or object) is referred to or implied elsewhere in the sentence, e. g. *nï'ni a'x·ɔ* OF-ME TONGUE like *aγɔ'nɪ*, not *nï'ni aγɔ'mpɪ*, which would be intrinsically contradictory; *tïna·'i u'u'raintïᴀ* BOTTOM (obj.) IT-TOWARD-BEING (obj.), i. e. BEING TOWARD THE BOTTOM (of something already specified).

(b) *-vi-*^{n}, *-p·i-*^{n}, *-mpi-*^{n} classificatory suffix referring chiefly to animals, topographical features, and objects (chiefly movable), less frequently persons. It is perhaps identical etymologically with (a). These suffixes are in some cases constant, i. e. never dropped, in others movable.

Examples of *-vi-*^{n} (non-movable and movable) are:

qï·'ɸɪ locust, *qï·'vɪnɪ* my locust
aŋa·'^{a}ɸɪ ant
tA'ci'aɸɪ red-ant: *tA'ci'aχa(·)nɪvï-* ant-camp, ant-hill
wɪ'tca'ɸɪ bee
pa'a'(tsɪ)ɸɪ animal
iyɔ'ɸɪ mourning dove, *iyɔ'vɪtcuAtsɪŋwï* mourning-dove-children
cina''aɸɪ wolf
cina'ŋwaɸɪ coyote, *cina'ŋwavintɔts·* coyote-headed, *cina'ŋwaviŋɮai-* to be coyote
tɔγɔ'aɸɪ rattlesnake: *tɔγɔ'aruAtsɪŋwï* rattlesnake-children
aŋi''ɸɪ mosquito
p̈ɔ'a'ɸɪ louse: *p̈ɔ'a'nɪ* my louse
tïra'ɸɪ desert: *tï'ra(i)yua·-* desert-plain, open plain
ava'ɸɪ shade: *ava'χanɪ* shade-house, summer shelter
kiŋwa''aɸɪ doll
pv·'tsɪɸɪ star: *pv·'tsɪγwɪtcap·ï* star-excrement, shooting stars
aï'ɸɪ now: *aï-*^{s} to be new (*aï'-vi-* probably originally noun, "recentness")
pɪ'qɔ'ɸɪ cactus-cake
qa'ï'nacaɸɪ supernatural being who owns deer on Kaibab Plateau (perhaps contains agentive *-vi-*^{n}, see § 25, 1)

Examples of *-p·i-*^{n} are:

paγa'tcA^{x}qap·ɪ red-winged blackbird
o(w)i'p·ɪ canyon, *maa·''oip·ɪmpaŋwɪt·ux·wA* brush-canyon-in-to: *oi't·ï'* end of canyon, *o(w)i'ŋwaγantï* canyon-having, canyon
q(w)ɔ'a'p·ɪ tobacco: *q(w)ɔ'a't·ï'qa-* to eat tobacco, to smoke
qU^{x}qwa'p·ɪ wood: *qU^{x}qwa'n·ɔ·-* to carry wood on one's back
wï'na'p·ɪ arrow-head

Examples of *-mpi-*^{n} are:

U^{x}qwa'mpɪ tarantula (cf. *U^{x}qwa'tsa·ts·* small spider)
si'ï'm·o·^{u}rαmpɪ bumble-bee

A few personal nouns are derived by combining (*-vi-*^{n},)*-p·i-*^{n} (,*-mpi-*^{n}) with *-tsɪ-* (see below), e. g.:

ïŋa·''p·its· baby: *ïŋa·''anɪ* my baby
ïnï'p·its· evil spirit, ghost, *ïnï'p·ɪntup·ɪ* ghost-making-game (for final *-p·ɪ*, see § 25, 5, a)

Less frequently this suffix is also combined with *-mpï-* (see e below), e. g.:

cïï'v^{w}*ɪmpï* squaw-bush, ordinarily *cïï'ϕï* (stem *cïï-*^{s}, e. g. *cïïru-* to make a basket out of squaw-bush twigs)

(c) *-mpi-*^{s} BERRY. This classificatory suffix can hardly be identified with *-mpi-* of (a) or (b) above, as it occurs in consistently nasalized form after all stems (e. g. *wa'a'mpɪ* CEDAR-BERRY < *wa'a-*^{g} CEDAR) and has spirantizing, not nasalizing, power. Examples are:

tïŋwα'mpɪ service-berry, *tïŋwα'mpɪϕï* service-berry bush (for *-vï-* see e below)
wa'a'mpɪ cedar-berry (cf. *wa'a'p·ï* cedar tree)
tsɪ'α'mpɪ wild-rose berry, *tsɪ'α'mpɪϕï* wild-rose bush, *tsɪ'a'mpɪva·ts·* wild-rose spring (place name)
pɔχɔ'mpɪ currant, *pɔχɔ'mpɪϕï* currant bush
wɪa'mpɪ red holly-like berry, *wɪa'mpɪϕï* berry bush, *wi(y)α'mpɪ-χarïrï'* berry-sitting (obj.), berry-knoll (obj.)
piya'ɪ'tcampiϕï locust tree (lit., locust-berry-tree)

(d) *-vï-*^{s}, *-p·ï-*^{s}, *-mpï-*^{s} absolutive suffix, very similar, as regards range of usage, to *-vi-*^{n}, *-p·i-*^{n}, *-mpi-*^{n} (b above). It is used in certain body-part nouns, in nouns denoting movable objects, objects in mass (e. g. SAND, MUD), and topographical features, and in nouns denoting HIDE, BLANKET. It is partly movable, partly fixed. When appropriate, this suffix may be followed, though infrequently, by *-vi-*^{n} (see a above).

Examples of *-vï-*^{s} are:

pA^{x}*qa·'ϕï* sweat
tava'tsɪϕï leg bone
qï'ca'ϕï (hawk's) wing, *qï'ca'vïaŋA* his wing, *qï'ca'vïϕɪ* (somebody's) wing
paï'γɪϕï hair of the head: *paï'x·ɪ* hair, *paï'γɪnɪ* my hair
ɔɔ'ϕï bone, *tɔtsɪ'ɔɔϕï* head-bone, skull: *ɔɔ'ru-* to make a bone, *ɔɔ''anɪ* my bone

quna'ϕï sack: *uγu'nA* arrow-sack, quiver
ɔra·'ϕï pole, post
wawa'ϕï foreshaft of cane arrow, *wawa'vïnɪ* my foreshaft: *wawa'-s·iva-* to whittle a foreshaft for a cane arrow
mantsɪ'ϕï scraper made of foreleg of deer, *mantsɪ'vïϕɪ* (one's) bone from elbow to wrist: *mantsɪ''anɪ* my bone of forearm
tï'ca'ϕï rope
uvʷa'ϕï meat-soup: *uvʷa'c·a'ai'* boils meat with soup
A'ta'ϕï sand: *A'ta'RAˣqa·γantï* sand-flat
yona'ϕï rocks lying around loose: *yona'xanints·* little gravel-house
wɪa'ϕï mud, *wɪa'vïnɪ* my mud: *wɪa'n·aχuq·wɪ-* to fight with mud (missiles)
sɔγɔ'ϕï moist ground: *sɔχɔ'aχantï* moist
pa·'vïts· little spring (< *pa·-ˢ* water; for diminutive *-tsɪ-* see § 35)
pïʸï'aϕï fur (of animal): *pïʸï'a·ηA* his (animal's) hair
pïï'ϕï hide: *pïʸï''a·ηA* his skin (for *-'a-* see 2, c)
tïηqwɪ'tca'aϕï rabbit-skin blanket
pɔnɪ'aϕï skunk-blanket (< *pɔnɪa-ˢ* skunk), *pɔnɪ'avuru-* to make a skunk-blanket
tïγɪ'aϕï tanned deer-hide (< *tïγɪa-ˢ* deer)
pao'ntsɪϕï hair-wrapping beaver band (< *paontsɪ-ˢ* beaver)
tïvʷï·'vʷïnɪ hide (owned by one), *tïvʷï·'vʷïnɪ* my hide (owned by me; not my own skin)

Examples of *-p·ï-ˢ* are:

tA'pa''ap·ï stockings, socks
qïrα'c·ɪ'αp·ï water-jar stopper
qwi'(y)α'p·ï fence
tA'sɪ'p·ï flint, *tA'sɪ'p·uϕU'caxai-* to look for flint
paï'q·ap·ï ice
qU'tca'p·ï ashes: *qU'tca'q·aRï* ash-colored, light gray
tïvʷɪ'p·ï earth, country, *tïvʷɪ'p·ïanɪ* my country: *tïvʷɪ'nAˣqwɪtcuts·* earth-worm
pia'p·ï mare (< *pia-* mother, female)
A'ta'p·ï rawhide
tU'qu'p·ï panther-hide (< *tuq·u-ᵍ* panther), *tU'qu'p·ïγai-* to have a panther-skin

One or other of these may really be past passive participles in *-p·ï-* (see § 25, 5, b).

Examples of *-mpï-ˢ* are:

aŋwa't·ampï rib
cïnï'mpï vulva, *cïnï'mpïaŋᴀ* her vulva
ciŋwα'mpï sandy gravel: *parɪ's·ɪŋwaoip·ɪ* sand-gravel "wash," arroyo
tɔiα'mpï gravel, mass of big and small rocks: *tɔi'ɔ'ip·ɪ* creek running through rocky bed (probably *tɔia-* + *oi'p·ɪ* canyon)
pa(ą)'ųmpï hail: *pa(a)'u'uŋwa-* to hail (lit., to hail-rain)
qʊ'ca·'ᵃrumpï trousers string, leggings thong (lit., leggings string-hide)
narɔ''ɔmpï underwear (< *narɔ'ɔ-ⁿ* clothes, *narɔ''ɔŋqwai-* to have clothes)
qwi·'n·ɔrɔ'ɔmpï clothing, blanket

Here probably belongs also *ɪ·'t·ümpï* old (e. g. *ɪ·'t·ümpïra·'ï* OLD SHIRT).

It is not at all improbable that all examples of *-vï-ˢ*, *-p·ï-ˢ*, *-mpï-ˢ* that indicate HIDE, BLANKET, CLOTHING are only apparently provided with absolutive *-pï-ˢ* and that they are really compound nouns whose second element, *-pï-ˢ*, is shortened (see § 11) from *pïï-ˢ*, *pï·-ˢ* HIDE (see above; *-vï-ˢ* of *pïï'ϕï* HIDE itself, however, is clearly absolutive).

Apparently distinct from absolutive *-vï-ˢ*, though not easy to keep apart from it, is *-vï-* (*-p·ï-* and *-mpï-* are not found alternating with it) suffixed to nouns used in some specialized or metaphorical sense. These nouns are generally compounds. When possessive enclitics are added, possessive *-a-* (see 2, a below) is generally suffixed to *-vï-*. Examples are:

qanɪ'ϕï nest (< *qani-* house)
tᴀ'cɪ'aχanɪϕï ant-house, ant-hill
tïŋqa'nɪvïanɪ stone-house-owned-my, cave that I own: *tïŋqa'nɪ* cave, *tïŋqa'nɪnɪ* my cave (that I live in)
pʊ'tï'ŋqanɪϕï eye-cave, superciliary ridge
tümpa'xᵘsɪϕï mouth-rim, lip (cf. *tᴀˣqu'c·ɪ* top-piece stitched on to upper of moccasin)
qanɪ'naŋqavaϕï house-ear, flap of tepee (cf. *naŋqava-ˢ* ear, *naŋqa'vaϕɪ* one's ear)
tᴀˣqo'vaϕï foot-face (cf. *qova'ϕɪ* one's face)
tᴀ'pa'ia·ϕï foot-surface, sole (< *paia·-* surface)
tï'rauq·wɪvï- unfeathered arrow (cf. *tï'ra-* empty; *uq·wɪ-(y)v·-* arrow)

(e) *-vï-ˢ*, *-p·ï-ˢ*, *-mpï-ˢ* classifying suffix for plants. It may be rendered PLANT, TREE, BUSH. Less frequently it is used with nouns

indicating parts of plants. It is a movable element. Perhaps it is only a special use of *-vï-ˢ*, *-p·ï-ˢ*, *-mpï-ˢ* of (d).

Examples of *-vï-* are:

maa′ϕï brush, plant, *maa′vïnɪ* my brush: *maa′xaiϕᴀ* brush-mountain, timbered mountain
o·χwɪ′ϕï grass: *o·χwɪ′aχai-* to be grassy (but also *o·χwɪ′vïaχai-* to have grass)
aɔ′ŋqɔϕï dried-up tree, *aɔ′ŋqɔvïanɪ* my dried-up tree
wï′ɪ′ϕï milkweed: *wï′ɪ′t·ï′caϕï* milkweed rope
qana′ϕï willow: *qana′rï‘* canyon-mouth bordered by willows
ciya′ϕï quaking asp
saŋwa′ϕï sagebrush: *saŋwa′uɪaγantï-* sagebrush-singer
qwɪya′ϕï scrub oak: *qwɪya′rïnaϕï* oak-stump
tɔ′ɔi′ϕï bulrush
tia′ϕï service-berry bush
naŋqavï- leaf (< *naŋqa-* branch)
qa′ɔ′ϕï pine-cone
uru′ϕï arrow-stick, stick from which arrow is to be made (< *uru-* to fix an arrow)
tïna′ϕï stump (perhaps related to *tïna·′ϕɪ* bottom, see a above)
qɔ‘cɔ′ϕï tinder, slow-match, *qɔ‘cɔ′vuru-* to prepare a slow-match of cedar-bark

See also *-mpi-ϕï* berry-bush under *-mpi-ˢ* (c).

Examples of *-p·ï-ˢ* are:

wa′a′p·ï cedar: *wa′a′mpɪ* cedar-berry, *wa′a′p·a·ts·* cedar-spring
tïvʷa′p·ï piñon: *tïvʷa-ᵍ* pine-nut
ïna′p·ï cedar-like tree: *ïna′n·aŋwɪ* apron of *ïna′p·ï-* bark
cïa′p·ï sapling, *ɔγɔ′c·ɪap·ï* fir-sapling: *cïa′p·iaϕɪ* tree-sap
sɔ·′vɪp·ï cottonwood: *cɔ·′vɪnuq·wɪntï* cottonwood-stream
moγwa′p·ï cedar-bark: *moγwa′q·anɪ* cedar-bark wickiup

Examples of *-mpï-ˢ* are:

ɔγɔ′mpï fir: *ɔγɔ′ntava′ats·* fir-chipmunk
Aˣqï′mpï sunflower-plant: *aq·ï-ⁿ* sunflower seeds
tᴀ‘ci′mpï barrel-cactus clump: *tᴀ‘ci′m·ʷanaϕï* cactus-spines
yïvʷi′mpï long-leafed pine: *yïvʷi′ŋ̊arïʀï* pine-mountain, Mt. Trumbull
yu′a′vɪmpï opuntia: *yu′a′ϕɪ* opuntia fruit
s·qu′mpï "rabbit-bush": *sɪk·u-ⁿ* gray squirrel

(f) *-tsɪ-*^{n}, *-ntsɪ-*^{n} (when preceded by nasal consonant) classifying suffix, chiefly for animate nouns. The suffix is sometimes movable, sometimes not. Animate examples of *-tsɪ-*^{n} are:

ïv^{w}*a'ts·* wolf (myth name), *ïv*^{w}*a'tsɪnavavɪŋwï* wolf and his younger brother
mu·'ra·ts· mule
qwɪ(y)a'ts· grizzly bear, *qwɪ(y)a'tsɪntï'qaŋ'wɪ* to become a grizzly bear: *qwɪ'(y)aγantï* grizzly bear
pu'ɪ'tcats· mouse: *navu''ɪtcaru-* to change oneself into a mouse
sari·'ts· dog: *sari·'vuŋqunɪ* my dog (lit., my dog-pet)
tavu'ts· cotton-tail rabbit: *tavu'm·uru'*^{i} cottontail-rabbit blanket
qa·'ts· rat: *qa·'-tsɪn'nɔrɔ-* to poke with a stick into a hole for rats (*-tsɪ-* is instrumental prefix, not classificatory suffix)
sɔ·''ɪts· soldier
paru'χuts· prophet, composer of ghost-dance song: *paru'χuγwantï* prophet
qwi·'ts· left-handed person (personal name): *qwi·'nɪ* my left (hand)
qU'tcu'mpiyats· buffalo-female (personal name): *qU'tcu'mpɪA* heifer
-tsɪ-^{n} is common in tribal names, e. g.:
mori·'tsɪŋwï bean-people, Moapa Paiutes
yïv^{w}*ɪ'ntï*^{ï}*tsɪŋwï* pine-canyon-mouth-people, Uintah Utes
paγï'utsɪŋwï fish-people, Paiutes of Panguitch Lake
qa'iva·vɪtcɪtsɪŋwï mountain-lying-people, plateau people, Kaibab Paiutes

It is not always easy to decide whether a nominal *-tsɪ-* is classificatory *-tsɪ-*^{n} or diminutive *-tsɪ-* (§ 35), e. g. *a'ip·ats·* BOY, plur. *-tsɪŋwï.*

A number of inanimate nouns also end in *-tsɪ-* (apparently not diminutive *-tsɪ-*), e. g.:

wɪï'ts· knife: *wïɪ'ŋ'wïnap·ɪ* knife-point, *wi·'p·U'caγai-* to look for a knife
mara'ts· metate: *ma'RA* metate
mɔ'a'ts· stone mealer

Such nouns as these corroborate Shoshonean comparative evidence, which shows that **-ti*, **-ta* (S. Californian *-t*, *-l*; S. Paiute *-tsɪ-*) was originally used, like its Nahuatl cognate *-tl(i)*, for all types of nouns. In Paiute, however, this element tended largely to become restricted to animate (including particularly personal) nouns.

Examples of *-ntsɪ-* are:

qïma'nts· stranger, *qïma'ntsɪŋwï* strangers, Shoshones (> Comanche): *qïma-ˢ* other
nïŋwï'nts· person, *nïŋwï'ntsɪŋwï* persons, Indians: *nïŋwï-ˢ* person
tɔmɪ'nts· (male personal name)
pA'cï'γï'mɪnts· water-lizard: *pA'cï'χï'mɪvaχarïʀï* water-lizard lake
cï'mï'nts· Muddy River

(g) *-vïtsɪ-ⁿ*, *-p·ïtsɪ-ⁿ*, *-mpïtsɪ-ⁿ* classifying suffix for animate nouns. This suffix is compounded of *-vï-ˢ*, *-p·ï-ˢ*, *-mpï-ˢ* (see d above) and animate *-tsɪ-ⁿ* (see f above). It is also quite possible that some of our examples contain diminutive *-tsɪ-* (cf. *pa·'vïts·* SPRING under d). Examples of *-vïtsɪ-ⁿ* are:

yɔγɔ'vʷïts· coyote (probably < *yɔγɔ-ˢ* to copulate with)
a'ïc·ivʷïts· butterfly
yïnï'vʷïts· bald-headed (personal name; *yïnï-ˢ* crown of the head)
'a'ïvʷɪŋwavïts· newly married one (*aï-ˢ* new + *piŋwa-ˢ* wife)
mɪa''p·ïvʷïtsɪ- little one (*mɪa''p·ïtsɪ-* LITTLE with diminutive *-tsɪ-*)

Examples of *-p·ïtsɪ-ⁿ* are:

wantsɪ'p·ïts· antelope: *wa'nts·* antelope, *wantsɪ'χaʀï* antelope-colored, light gray
tUˣqu'p·ïts· wildcat: *tUˣqu'ts·* wildcat, *tUˣqu'q·aïtcɔx·U* hat of wildcat skin
A'ta'p·ïts· crow: *A'ta'q̇·wɔts·* crow
moo'p·ïts· hooting owl: *moo'n·aṗ·ïŋW* old man Owl
cïγï'p·ïts· lizard (cf. *cïγï''mints·* under f)
a'iɸAPïts· young man: *a'ivamï* young men
nan·a'p·ïts· old man (perhaps with diminutive *-tsɪ-*) < *nan·a-* to grow

It is very difficult to separate examples of *-p·ïtsɪ-ⁿ* that contain animate *-tsɪ-* from such as are clearly compounded with diminutive *-tsɪ-*, e. g. *mɪa''p·ïts·* SMALL (cf. *mɪa''ants·* A LITTLE); *piya'p·ïts·* YOUNG FEMALE ANIMAL, FILLY (cf. *piya'p·ï* MARE); *qam·ï'ɔap·ïts·* LITTLE JACK-RABBIT. Cf. enclitic- *p·ïtsɪ-* (§ 19, 3, b). Another difficulty lies in separating *-p·ï-* of *-p·ïtsɪ-ⁿ* from past passive participial *-p·ï-* (§ 25, 5, b); thus, *nan·a'p·ïts·* may be plausibly analyzed as LITTLE GROWN-UP ONE.

Examples of *-mpïtsɪ-ⁿ* are:

ïna'mpïts· badger: *ïna'ŋqwac·I* badger-tail
mïɻyï'mpïts· gopher: *mïyï'ŋqanɪɸï* gopher-house, gopher pile

yïŋï'mpïts· porcupine: *yïŋï'ŋqwac·ɪ* porcupine-tail
ɔγɔ'mpïts· bull-snake
qa·(a')mpïts· ruffed grouse
wɪ'qu'mpïts· buzzard
tavu'mputs· cotton-tail rabbit (song-form for *tavu'ts·*)
yïv^{w}ɪ'mpïts· pine-man (personal name) < *yïv^{w}ɪ-^{n}* pine

(2) ELEMENTS DEFINING POSSESSION. Here are grouped a number of suffixes that appear chiefly with possessive pronominal enclitics and which, on the whole, define the nature of the possessive relation. It is not always easy, as a matter of fact, to see exactly what increment of significance they bring.

(a) *-a-* seems to be used to indicate possession that is alienable, particularly, it would seem, of such objects as are not normally thought of as being possessed. It is generally preceded by *-pï-^{s}* (see 1, d and e). Examples are:

ïv^{w}ɪ'p·ïanïmɪ our (excl.) country (*-nïmɪ* our); *ïv^{w}ɪ'p·ïaianïmɪ* our country (obj.) (*-ia-* objective, § 49, 1).
pa·'^{a}vïanɪ spring that I own
a'ɔŋqɔvïanɪ my dried-up woods
ïŋqa'nivïa(i)ya'ŋ^{WA} his cave (obj.) owned as house (*-ya-* objective); *ïŋqa'nɪvïatsiaφï* his own little cave (obj.) (*-tsi-* diminutive; *-a-* objective; *-φï*, § 40, 4)

Possessive *-a-* may also be used with causative *-ɬ·ui-* (§ 29, 12) to form verbs indicating TO CAUSE TO HAVE SO AND SO, e. g.:

tümp^{w}ɪ'Aɬïip·ïγa' caused (it) to have stones
qan·ɪ'Aɬuip·ïγa' caused (it) to have houses
naŋqa'Aɬuip·ïγa' caused (it) to have branches

For possessive *-a-* combining with verbalizing *-kai-* TO HAVE into *-aγai-* (participle *-aγantï-*), see § 26, 1, b; for possessive *-a-* after past passive participial *-p·ï-*, see 3, b below.

(b) *-ŋwa-*, *-ŋ'wa-*. These elements are used very much like *-a-*, occurring both before possessive pronominal enclitics and verbalizing *-kai-* TO HAVE, not, however, before causative *-ɬ·ui-*. They do not seem to be used after classificatory *-pï-^{s}* (1, d and e), but may be directly appended to noun stems. Examples of *-ŋwa-* are:

paï'ŋwαnɪ my blood (absolute *paï'p·ɪ*; in possessive forms of this noun *-ŋwa-* is always used)

u(w)ɪ'ŋwaγantï canyon-possessive-having, canyon
pa·n·a'q·ar'uiŋwaγantï money-become (§ 26, 1, g)-possessive-having, one who has money
quna'ŋwaχaiŋup·ïγa' fire-possessive-have-momentaneous- past, got fire
nïmpɪ'ŋwarutcaŋwap·ɪŋwaxaiʏU person-wife-deprive-past pass. partic. (§ 25, 5, a)-possessive-have-subordinating, while having (as his own wife) somebody else's wife taken away (by him)
nïv^{w}a''uŋwat·uintɪŋwanI snow-rain-become (§ 26, 1, g)-present ptc. (§ 25, 6, a)-possessive-my, snow belonging to me (snow-raining = snow)

Examples of *-ŋ'wa-* (it is not clear how, if at all, it differs in usage from *-ŋwa-*) are:

tümp^{w}i'ŋ'wa·ŋA his rock
ma·'xarïr'ïŋwa(i)ya·ŋA his clump of trees (obj.)
qa·'nt·uintɪŋ'wa·ŋA sing-become (§ 26, 1, g)-present ptc. (§ 25, 6, a)-possessive-his, song belonging to him

Both *-ŋwa-* and *-ŋ'wa-* are used particularly to indicate possession of one of a group by the group (e. g. OUR LEADER = THAT ONE OF US WHO IS LEADER). This includes adjectival participles indicating selection (e. g. THE GOOD ONE of several). Examples are:

nɪa·'vɪŋ'waraŋWA our chief; *qan·ɪ'aγantïA nɪa·'vɪŋ'WA* house-possessive-having-obj. chief-possessive, village's chief
ampa'xarïŋ'wa·m·ï talker- possessive-their, their talker; *qan·ɪ'aγantï ampa'xarïŋ'WA* village's main speaker
ava't·ïŋw'αŋw'uŋWA big-present ptc. (§ 25, 6, a)-possessive-animate plur.- their (anim.), their big ones (anim.), those of them (anim.) that are big
a'a't·ïŋwaŋwïa'aŋWA good-present ptc.-possessive-animate plur.-obj.-their, the good ones (anim. obj.)
tïv^{w}ɪ'tc at·ïŋwa(i)'yaq·WA very good-present ptc.-obj.-their (inan.), a very good one of them (inan.)

(c) *-'a-* is used to indicate possession, chiefly of body-parts, that is inherent without being strictly inalienable. In other words, it is suffixed to nouns indicating objects (or persons) that do often occur disconnected in experience (e. g. SALIVA, BONE, SKIN) but are thought of as indissolubly connected. Examples are:

ɔɔ''anɪ my bone (i. e. bone of my own body); *aŋa'vïɔɔ'ᵃ* shoulder-bone-possessive, shoulder-blade: absolute *ɔɔ'ϕï* bone
pïʔï''a(i)ya·ŋᴀ his skin (obj.): absolute *pïï'ϕï* skin, hide
nį'ni qï'tsi''ᵃ me saliva-possessive, my saliva: absolute *qï'tsɪ'ϕɪ* saliva
nį'ni tąmu''ᵃ me sinew-possessive, my sinew: absolute *tam·u'ϕ ʷɪ* sinew
tïγï'ayoo'ᵃ deer-fat-possessive, fat of deer: absolute *yoo'ϕ ʷɪ* fat
qarï'n·ïmpɔʀɔtsi'ᵃ saddle-head-possessive, saddle-horn
nïŋwï''a(i)ya·qᴀ person-possessive-obj.-its, its (country's) people (obj.)

(d) *-in'(n)i-ˢ* (*-'in·i-ˢ*) OWNED. This element is always employed with alienable nouns and has a specific reference to actual ownership as contrasted with mere possession in the grammatical sense. Examples are:

pura'ɔin'ninɪ my flour
pɔɔ'in'ninɪ my owned trail (not merely: trail that I use)
saχw(ɛ')ia·in'ninɪ my owned belly, (some animal's) belly that I possess (as meat); contrast *saχw(ɛ')ia·nɪ* my belly
qani''ninɪ my house (that I own); contrast *qani'nɪ* my house (that I live in)
quna'i'niaraŋwᴀ our possessed fire (obj.)
nį' qamï''iniχa' I jackrabbit-owned-have, I have a jackrabbit (*qamï'χa'* to be a rabbit, see § 26, 1, a)
cï'pu'vʷ'ain·ɪntsɪχaim·ɪ' cold-water-owned-diminutive-have-usitative present, is wont to have cold water (*cï'pu'vʷa·-*)

(e) *-vuŋqu-ˢ, -p·uŋqu-ˢ, -mpuŋqu-ˢ* PET, DOMESTICATED ANIMAL. This is no true suffix, but merely the compounded form of *puŋqu-ˢ* HORSE (belonging to one; contrast *qava'* HORSE absolutely), originally PET, DOMESTICATED ANIMAL, DOG (cf. Tübatulabal *puŋgu-l* DOG). It is listed here because it is regularly added to all nouns denoting owned animals. It is a suffix in the making. Examples are:

qava·'vuŋqunɪ my horse (more frequently simply *puŋqu'nɪ*)
pi·'χɪvuŋquraŋwᴀ pig-pet-our, our pig
a(i)ya'vuŋqunɪ my turtle
sari·'vuŋqunɪ my dog; *sari·'vuŋquχwai-* to have a dog
qʊ'tcu'mpuŋqunɪ buffalo-pet-my, my ox; *qʊ'tcu'mpumpuŋquŋwïraŋwᴀ* buffalo-pets (for reduplication see § 58, 2, d) -animate plur.-our, our cattle

(3) TENSE ELEMENTS. Tense can be expressed in nouns provided they are first verbalized. This is generally done by suffixing *-kai-* TO BE (§ 26, 1, a) and then turning the denominative verb into a participle. Thus, the future form of *qava·-ˢ* HORSE is *qava·'χaiva·ntï* HORSE-BE-FUTURE-PARTICIPLE, A HORSE TO BE; similarly, *qam·ï'χaivätcï* JACK-RABBIT-BE-USITATIVE-PARTICIPLE, ALWAYS A JACKRABBIT. Here we shall specifically list only two compound suffixes relating to past time, because of their rather characteristic usage.

(a) *-γaip·ï-*, *-q·aip·ï-*, *-ŋqaip·ï-* HAVING BEEN, PAST, FORMER; compounded of *-kai-* TO BE and past participial *-p·ï-* (see § 25, 5, a). Examples are:

ini'a·γaip·ïnɪ my dead relation < *ini'a·nɪ* my relative
muru''ɪχaip·ï cast-away blanket
ɔ'tca'(vï)γaip·ï formerly used water-jar (*ɔ't·cA*)
qa·'yaait·ïaχaip·ïa'aŋwA rat-hunt-place-be-past partic.-obj.-his, place (obj.) where he used to hunt rats
tɔna'vɪŋ̊kaip·ï punch-er-be-past partic., one who used to be a puncher

(b) *-p·ï-* PAST, FORMER. This is the past participial *-p·ï-* (see § 25, 5, a), only rarely used with noun stems, e. g.:

qanɪ'p·ï abandoned house, village site, old camping place

It is sometimes found combined with possessive *-a-* (2, a) as *-p·ïa-*, e. g.:

a'iɸAPï(γ)arïγïvʷïnɪ youth-past-possessive- friend-my, my former youthful friend

This *-p·ïa-* occurs also combined with other elements in verbal forms (see *-p·ïa-γai-t̊·ua-*, § 32, 8; *-p·ïa-yï-*, § 32, 7).

§ 25. *Nominalizing suffixes.*

These are formed chiefly from verb and adjective-verb stems. The verbal noun in *-n·a-* and the various participles are in very frequent, in part idiomatic, use.

(1) AGENTIVE *-vi-ⁿ*, *-mpi-ⁿ*. Examples of agentive *-vi-ⁿ* are:

muwaraχi- to crush — *wa'a'mpɪm·uwaraχɪɸɪ* cedar-berry-crusher, spermophile
marïn·a- to chase — *nį̈ŋwï'm·arïn·aɸɪ* man-chaser, lizard (sp.)

naγa'rɪŋqï- to dodge	*naγa'rɪŋqïɸɪ* dodger
nɔ·- to carry on one's back	*nïŋwï'n·ɔ·ᵊɸɪ* man-carrier, roc
ampaχa- to talk	*ampa'χaɸɪ* talker
tɔna- to punch	*tɔna'vɪŋk̟aip·ï* one who used to be a puncher

Examples of agentive *-mpï-*^{n} are:

taŋa- to kick	*taŋa'mpɪ* kicker
ɔrɔŋwi- to grunt, growl	*ɔrɔ'ŋwɪmpɪ* grunter

Agentives are used to refer only to permanent (quasi-occupational) activities. Temporary or casual agentives are expressed by means of active participles (see 6 below).

(2) INSTRUMENTAL *-nïmpï-*, *-n'ïmpï-*. This suffix is compounded of usitative *-nï-*^{n} (see § 30, 11) and passive participial *-p·ï-* (see below); *-n'ïmpï-* has accessory ', perhaps of momentaneous significance (§ 53, 2, a, 3). There seems to be no clear difference of function between *-nïmpï-* and *-n'ïmpï-*.

Examples of instrumental *-nïmpï-* are:

yï'ïχi- to swallow	*yɪ'ï'xɪnïmpï* swallower, throat
qarï- to sit, ride horseback	*qarï'n·ïmpï* saddle
wï'qa'm'mi- to cover	*pu'ɪ'ŋwï'qam'mɪnïmpï* eye-coverer, blinder (for a horse)
yum'muχwi- to poke	*tayu'm'muχwɪnïmpï* foot-poker, spur
ts·qwan'nɔ- to stir up (mush)	*ts·qwa'n'nɔnɔmpï* mush-stirrer
tʌ'cin'nɪ- to play cup-and-ball with a rabbit's head	*tʌ'ci'n'nɪnïmpï* rabbit-head used in cup-and-ball game

Examples of *-n'ïmpï-* are:

ïγa- to enter	*movʷi'ïχan'nïmpï* nose-enterer, bit and bridle
ïŋwa- to close	*qanɪ'ntciŋwq̣'nïmpï* house-closer, door
ï'ta'- to stretch out (a skin)	*ï'ta'n'nïmpï* hide-stretching frame
kwip·a- to beat	*kwɪ'pa'n'ïmpï* beater, shinny-stick
pʌˣqa- to kill, to guess the right bone in the hand-game	*pʌˣqa'n'nïmpï* bone that is to be guessed in the hand-game

On the whole it seems that the action in instrumentals in *-n'ïmpï-* is conceived of as momentaneous, in those in *-nïmpï-* as durative.

(3) VERBAL NOUN IN *-n·a-*. Verbal nouns in *-n·a-* are freely formed from all verbs and often appear in syntactic combinations. More often than not, a verbal noun in *-n·a-* is used with a possessive pronoun, often in a subjective or objective relative sense. When a tense suffix is absent, it refers to present or general time. Futures in *-va·-n·a-* (cf. § 32, 4) and perfectives in *-q·ai-n·a-* (cf. § 32, 3) are also very common. In the case of transitive verbs, the action is to be thought of as passive rather than active, e. g. *ampa'γananI* MY TALKING, WHAT IS SAID BY ME. Nevertheless, the matter of voice does not seem to be clearly defined in *-n·a-* forms. Examples are:

nï'ni nɔ·'nanI me carying-my, my pack
niŋwï'RUqwat·uγwaq·an·araŋWA person-under-to-plural subj.-verbal noun- our, our going under a person, our being beaten
w'a'ŋɪn·a·m· ur 'a·'ï'niŋUcampA shouting-their it silent-become-but, but their shouting became silent
tɔ'ɔ'ivï'ɔran'naŋw aRï bulrush-digging-his it, the bulrushes he digs (dug) up
nï' o·'p·a' anɪ'va·n·ɪ imi a'ï'namI I thus do-shall thee saying-thy, I shall do as you say
tï'qa'va:n'aŋw u'R eat-future-verbal noun-his it, his being about to eat, for him to eat
nɋnɔ'c·ɪva·n·anI what I shall dream
nɋnɔ'c·ɬainanI what I dreamt
mʷα'ŋ 'ani'ɬ·a ïa'vuruŋUqwainanI that-one do-resultative wounded-make-momentaneous-perfective-verbal noun-my, that one it is whom I have wounded

Cases of *-n·a-* as noun-forming or adjective-forming derivative without clear verbal force are uncommon, e.g.:

uru''anA being, property < *uru'a-* to be
wïγɔ'ɔ'paq·inA vulva-perforated-verbal noun, vagina
ava''ᵃnA much < *ava'ᵃ* to be much

For the idiomatic use of *-n·a-c·u-* with verbs of doing and saying, see § 62.

(4) SPECIAL NOMINAL DERIVATIVES. Here are grouped a few nominalizing suffixes of more than ordinarily concrete significance.

(a) *-t·ïa-* PLACE OF. Examples of nouns in *-t·ïa-* formed from verb stems are:

na'a'iɬ·ui- to cause to burn	*na'a'iɬ·ut·ï'* cause-to-burn place, fireplace
tuγ(w)v·- to cache	*tuγ(w)u'ʻtïɑnɪ* my caching-place, my cache
qa·-yaai- to hunt rats	*qa·'yaait·ïaχaip·ïa'aŋwA* place where (obj.) he used to hunt rats
nïvʷa-RAʻtɔn'ni- to shake off snow from one's feet	*nïvʷa'RAʻtɔn'NIʻtï'aŋwA* his place of shaking off snow from his feet
kwIʻtu- anus + *yɔγɔ-* to copulate with	*kwIʻtï'iɔγɔt·ï'* anus-copulating-place, passive pederast

Less commonly *-t·ïa-* is suffixed to noun stems, e. g.:

qanɪ- house	*qanɪ't·ïɑnɪ* my house-place, my camping place

Alone among derivative suffixes, *-t·ïa-* forms a reduplicated plural (see § 58, 2, b): *-t·ïrïa-* PLACES OF, e. g.:

tïʻqa't·ïA eating place	*tïʻqa't·ïrïA* eating places
qanɪ't·ïA camping place	*qanɪ't·ïrïA* camping places

(b) *-va-*, *-p·a-*, *-mpa-* CONTEST, FIGHT. Examples are:

naγu'q·wɪp·A war, battle with bows and arrows (lit., shoot-one-another-contest), obj. *naγu'q·wIpaiA*
ɔɔ'mpA fist-fight, obj. *ɔɔ'mpaiA*

An isolated noun suffix *-va-ˢ* occurs in *naŋqa'va-ˢ* EAR (absolute *naŋqa'vaɸɪ*) < *naŋqa-* TO HEAR. Also isolated is *-mpa-ᵍ* in *tuγumpa-ᵍ* SKY < *tuγu-ⁿ* UP. Both of these are old Shoshonean elements, cf. Hopi *nakᵘ-ve*, Gitanemuk *a-ka-va*, i. e. *a-k·a-va* (< **a-ŋkava* < **a-naka-va*) EAR; Tübatulabal *dogu-mba-l*, Möhineyam *dugu-ba-t*, Gabrielino *tuku-pa-r* SKY.

(c) *-rï·-*, *-t·ï·-*, *-ntï·-* CANYON MOUTH. This suffix seems to be added only to noun stems, but is most conveniently listed here. Perhaps it is related to *-t·ïa-* PLACE OF. Examples are:

qana-ˢ willow	*qana'rï'* mouth of canyon bordered by willows (> Kanab)

oi-^{g} canyon (absolute *oi'p·ɪ*)
yïv^{w}*i-*^{n} pine

oi't·ï^{c} mouth of canyon
yïv^{w}*ɪ'ntï*^{c} mouth of canyon bordered by pines (> Uintah), *yïv*^{w}*ɪ'ntï*^{t}*tsɪŋwï* Uintah Utes

(d) *-'ya·-*^{s} FORE PART. This suffix also is apparently added only to noun stems. It has been found in:

wawa-^{s} foreshaft to cane arrow (absolute *wawa'ϕï*)
tümpa- mouth

wawa'(i)'ya·ϕï foreshaft
tümpa''ya^{c} mouth of canyon (apparently found only in compounds, e. g.: *s·qu'rumpa'ya*^{c} mouth of rabbit-bush canyon < *s·qu'-mpï* rabbit-bush; *ɔa'i-t·ümpa(i)'ya*^{c} mouth of salt-canyon < *ɔa-* salt)

(e) *Isolated elements.* There are a few elements that may be recognized as noun suffixes (or stereotyped compounded stems), but to which no definite meaning can be assigned. Among these is *-n'naŋqa-* (cf. perhaps *naŋqa-* EAR-ORNAMENT) in bird nouns:

qïri'n'naŋqats· sparrow-hawk
ɔva'n'naŋqA goose

-q̇·wa-(tsɪ-) occurs in:

A^{c}*ta'q̇·wɔts·* crow (cf. parallel *A*^{c}*ta'p·ïts·*)

-tca·- occurs in:
U^{x}*qwa'tsa·ts·* small spider (cf. *U*^{x}*qwa'mpɪ* tarantula)

(5) PASSIVE PARTICIPLES. Two distinct suffixes of closely related meaning are frequently employed in Paiute to express the passive participle, *-p·i-* and *-p·ï-*. It is difficult to say just what difference of meaning there is between these elements, though they are not used interchangeably. On the whole, *-p·i-* seems to have a more substantival force, *-p·ï-* a more truly participial one; it would be incorrect to press this point, however. Moreover, *-p·i-* is primarily tenseless except when preceded by specific tense elements, e. g. future *-va·-*; *-p·ï-* is always preterital. Both may be formed from intransitive stems, though derivatives formed from transitive verbs are naturally far more common.

(a) *-p·i-* passive participle. Examples are:

sa'a- to boil	*sa'a'p·ɪ* what is boiled, mush
aɣan·i- how? to do (be) in what way?	*qatcu''q·w aɣa'n·ɪ^{x}k̲aɪ'pin·ɪ naia'-vaŋwq'^{a}* not-it how-do-perfective-passive partic.-like seem-negative, it does not look as though capable of handling
cu(w)ai- to be glad	*cu(w)a'ip·ɪ* (some one's) being glad
nɔn·ɔc·ɪ- to dream	*nɔn·ɔ'c·ɪp·ɪ* what is dreamt, dream (as noun)
tavi- to hit, plur. subj. *tavi-k̲·a-*	*tavi'k·am·ɪp·ɪ* who are (were) always hit
ẗiχwɪ·n·a- to tell a story	*ẗiχwɪ·'n·ap·ɪ* what is told, story
tï'qa- to eat	*tï'qa'va·p·ɪ* what shall (always) be eaten
ivi- to drink	*ivi'p·ɪ* something drunk, *ivi'-k̲·aip·ɪ* what was evidently drunk (by someone)
ampaɣa- to talk	*naŋqa'p·ïɣa ampa'x·ʌpiʌ* heard talked (obj.), heard some one talking
cv·p·ar'ua- several gather together	*cv·'p·ar'uαp·ɪ* gathered-together, gathering place

A considerable number of nouns referring to games are passive participles in *-p·i-*, e. g.:

naiaŋwi- to play the hand-game	*naiα'ŋwɪp·ɪ* hand-game
ïnï'p·ɪntu- to make a ghost, to play at ghosts	*ïnï'p·ɪntup·ɪ* ghost-making game
mavɔ'xɔi- to make a pile of dirt	*mavɔ'xɔip·ɪ* game of making piles of dirt

(b) *-p·ï-* past passive participle. Examples are:

sa'ma- to spread out (a blanket, sheet)	*sa'ma'p·ï* having been spread out, cover on which something is put
wɪ'tca'- to wrap about	*wɪ'tca'p·ï* having been wrapped about, band

nɔ·- to carry on one's back	*nɔ·'p·ï* carried on one's back, pack
ai- to say	*a'ip·ïa·ŋ o·'p̣·ac· an·ı'p·ïγa'* say-passive partic.-obj.-his that-way-again it-did, it happened as he had said
naŋqa- to hear	*mai'm imi naŋqa'q·aip·ï'mɪ* that-thy thee hear-perfective-passive partic.-thy, that (is) thy heard, that is what you heard
qwïï- to take	*piŋwa'χwïïp̣·ïŋWA* wife-taken-his, whom he had taken as wife
ɔra- to dig up	*ɔra'p·ïnɪ* my having-been-dug, something that I dug long ago
qWA'cï- to be ripe	*qWA'cï'p·ïaq·A* ripened-it, it (is) ripe
qwitca- to defecate	*qwitca'p·ï* excrement
si'i- to urinate	*si'i'p·ï* urine

Several nouns referring to ceremonials, dances, and games are really past passive participles in *-p·ï-*, e. g.:

ki(y)a- to play, dance a round dance	*ki(y)a'p·ï* round dance
-tïv^{w}ï'- to lead away	*qam·ï'n·arïv^{w}ï'p·ï* jackrabbit-reciprocal-lead away-passive partic., game in which each tries to head off rabbits from others
yaγa- to cry	*yaγa'p·ï* having been cried, mourning ceremony
tu'u'n'NI^{x}qa- to dance the scalp dance	*tu'u'n'NI^{x}qap·ï* scalp dance

(6) ACTIVE PARTICIPLES. The primary form of the active participial suffix is *-tï-^{n}*. When unpreceded by a tense element, it refers to present time or, particularly in secondary substantival uses, is tenseless. Participles of explicitly temporal reference may be formed from the present participle by prefixing appropriate temporal suffixes to *-tï-^{n}*. Animate plurals are formed by suffixing *-m·ï-* (§ 48, 1, a), e. g. *-rïm·ï-*.

(a) *Present participle:* *-rï-^{n}* (*-tcï-^{n}* after *i*; *-ntcï-^{n}* after nasal + *i*), *-t·ï-^{n}*, *-ntï-^{n}*. Examples are:

tï'qa- to eat	*tï'qa'Rï* eating
ivi'-k̲·a-^{s} several drink	*ivi'k̲·arïmï* those drinking
nïa- to blow	*nïa'Rï* blowing, wind; *nïa'rïntï'qaŋ'WI'pïγa'* turned into wind
qA'qa'rï-^{s} to run away	*qA'qa'rïRï* one who runs away
pU'tcu'tcuγwa-^{s} to understand	*i'mI pU'tcu'tcuγwar'ïq·WA* thou (art) understanding-it
ivi-^{s} to drink	*ivi'tcï* drinking
tcaŋwï'k·IqwA'(a)i-^{s} to die off	*tcaŋwï'k·IqwA'(a)itcïm^{w}ïA* those dying off (obj.)
avi-^{s} to lie	*avi'tcï* lying, plateau
an·i-^{s}	*an·i'ntcï* doing so, anim. plur. *an·i'ntcïm^{w}ï-*
ai-^{s} to say	*a'intcï* saying, sayer (§ 13, 3)
a'a-^{g} to be good	*a'a't·ï* good
A'pï'iŋwa'ai-^{g} not to sleep	*A'pï'iŋwa'ait·ï* one who does not sleep
na'ai-^{n} to burn	*na'a'intï* burning, fire
-mi-^{n} usitative	*a'imintïmï* those saying
-r'ui-^{n} to become	*tuγwa'r'uintï* becoming night
NU^{x}qwi-^{n} to flow	*NU^{x}qwi'ntï* flowing, stream

For *-kantï-* HAVING; BEING < *-kai-* TO HAVE; TO BE, see § 26, 1, a, b.

(b) *Future participle: -va·ntï-*^{n}, *-mpa·ntï-*^{n}; formed from future *-va·-*^{n}, *-mpa·-*^{n} (§ 32, 4). Examples are:

pI'pI'tcï- to arrive	*pI'pI'tcïv^{w}a·ntï* being about to arrive, going to arrive, shall be arriving
pI'k̲a''ayaxai- to be a hard-shell turtle	*pI'k̲a''axaiva·ntï* destined to be a hard-shell turtle
pA^{x}qa'ŋu-^{n} to kill	*pA^{x}qa'ŋumpa·ntï* going to kill, will kill

(c) *Usitative participle: -vatcï-*^{n}, *-mpatcï-*^{n}. The usitative element *-va-*, phonetically treated as though terminating in *-i-*^{s}, is not otherwise used as a verb suffix. It is perhaps identical with postpositive *-va-* AT (§ 50, 4, 37), which also changes following *-t-* to *-tc-*. Examples are:

nɔn·ɔ'c·ɪ- to dream	*nɔn·ɔ'c·ɪvätcï* accustomed to dream, having ever dreamt
na'ai- to burn	*na'a'ivätcï* wont to burn

qarï- to sit	*qarï'vatcï* who always sits
o·χwai- to have an arrow	*o·'χwaivätcï* provided with an arrow
nɔntsɪn'i- to fly	*nɔntsɪ'n'ivätcï* always flying around
-mi-^{n} usitative	*avi'm·ɪmpatcï* always accustomed to lie down

(d) *Perfective participle: -q·antï-*^{n}; based on perfective *-q·ai-* (§ 32, 3). Examples are:

pïɳɪ'k̟·ai- to see	*pïɳɪ'k·aik̟·antï* having seen
pa'x·ɪqwɔ'ai- to go away	*pa'x·ɪqwɔ'aik̟·antï* having gone away
qanɪ'χai- to have a house	*qanɪ'χaik̟·antï* who had a house

(e) *Narrative preterital participle: -p·ïγantï-*^{n}; based on narrative preterital *-p·ïγai-*. This participle differs from the preceding in referring more explicitly to past time, also in being more frequently used in narrative as a sort of equivalent for properly preterital forms in *-p·ïγai-* (see §32 , 6; also § 55, 4, e). Examples are:

pA^{x}qa'ŋʊtï·- to be killed	*pA^{x}qa'ŋʊtïïpïγantï'ŋ uru''av^{w}ï* be-killed-preterit partic.-he is-dubitative, maybe he has been killed
tïγai- to take place	*tïγa'ɪpïγantï* having taken place
qA^{x}qa'ŋuŋqv·- would kill	*pA^{x}qa'ŋuŋquU^{x}pïγantïnɪ* who would have killed me
'u'raiŋu- to go towards it	*nï' u'raiŋʊpïγantï* I (am) having-gone-towards-it, I went towards it

(f) *Animate plurals of participles.* Animate plurals of active participles have been already referred to. They end in *-ï-m·ï-*. A curious idiom allows of their use also as singulars. This takes place when the participle refers to a person (or animal) that is singled out from a number or is compared with others. The plural ending of the participle, in other words, refers to the implied collectivity rather than to the person explicitly indicated. Examples are:

qʊ'tca'p·ɔ·t·ɔ'qwarïmï blue-round-adj. verb-partic.-plur., one who is blue around (as contrasted with others of different color)

tɔγɔ'n·ʸop·a' tɔγɔ'q·wɪtcïmï quite-me-like running-plur., equal to me in running
qa'tc 'a'iyuŋwai"t·i̯mï not good-negative-partic.-plur., not a good one
nïχa·'ᵃvat·ïm·ʷïaŋᴀ me-greater-partic.-plur.-he, he (is) greater than I
tïvʷɪ'ts· pa'a'ntïmï very tall-partic.-plur., tallest; contrast *tïvʷɪ'ts· pa'a'ntï* very tall (no comparison involved)

Analogous constructions are found in other than *-tï-ⁿ* forms, e. g.:

ni̯' narï'χwɪ·nᴀpïŋwï I mighty-plur. (§ 48, 1, b), I (am) a mighty person (as contrasted with others)

§ 26. *Verbalizing Suffixes.*

A number of verb-forming suffixes are in common use. They transform noun, adjective, and demonstrative stems into verbs.

(1) *Elements suffixed to noun and adjective stems.*

(a) *-γai-, -q·ai-, -ŋqai-,* TO BE. Any noun or participle may become a verb of being by means of this suffix, e. g.:

nïŋwï-ˢ person	*niŋwï'χaiʏu* while being a person
qanɪ-ˢ house	*qanɪ'χaiŋu* house-be-momentaneous, to be already manifest as a house
wï'cɪa·-ˢ feather	*wï'cɪ'a·χaiḵ·ain·a·ŋᴀ* feather-be-perfective-verbal noun -his, what had been his feathers
sari·tsɪ-ˢ dog	*nï' sari·'tsɪχa'* I am a dog
tümpʷi-ᵍ rock	*tümpʷi'ḵ·ainɪ* I am a rock
nïχa·'ᵃva·'t·ï-ⁿ greater than I	*nïχa·'ᵃva·'t·iŋqaiva·t·ɳnɪ'* I-greater-active partic.-be-future- gerund-like, if (you) are to be greater than I

For negative *-'ai-* NOT TO BE, see § 57, 2 c.

Before subordinating *-q·u-* (§ 55, 1, e) verbifying *-kai-* TO BE becomes *-ka·-*, e. g.:

a'ip·atsɪχai- to be a boy	*a'ip·atsɪχa·q·unɪ* when I was a boy

For corresponding negative *-a·'-q·u-* WHEN NOT TO BE, see § 57, 2, c.

The active participial form of this suffix is *-γantï-ⁿ, -q·antï-ⁿ, -ŋqantï-ⁿ*. e. g.:

tᴀˣqa·-ˢ to be flat	*tᴀˣqa·'γantï* being flat, flat country
cïï-ˢ to be strong	*cïï'xantï* strong
'ɔntcɔχι-ˢ to be one-eyed	*'ɔntcɔ'χιχαntï* one-eyed
yu(w)a·-ˢ	*yu(w)a·'ᵃχantï* being level, plain
wï'qɔn·oi-ᵍ to be circular	*wï'qɔ'n·oiɬ·antï* circular

As may be seen from these examples, *-kantï-ⁿ* forms many nouns and adjectives. Many of these participial forms, indeed, seem to be more freely used than the *-kai-* verbs from which they are derived

Compounded with indirective *-ŋqï-* (§ 29, 2) this element seems to appear as *-'ai-* (cf. negative *-'ai-* NOT TO BE, § 57, 2, c). *-'ai-ŋqï-* seems to indicate TO ACT LIKE —TO. It occurs in:

cïna'ŋwavι-ŋɬai- to be coyote; to be amorous, "mushy"	*cïna'ŋwavι'aiŋqïi'* acts like coyote to (her); acts in an inordinately amorous manner toward (her)

(b) *-γai-, -q·ai-, -ŋqai-* TO HAVE. This element closely parallels the preceding in all its forms (including negative *-'ai*; subordinate *-ka·-q·u-*; negative subordinate *-a·'-q·u-*; participle *-kantï-ⁿ*). From the form alone it is not always possible to tell whether the *-kai-* suffix denotes TO BE or TO HAVE; e. g. *tümpʷiɬ·ai-* TO BE A ROCK or TO HAVE A ROCK. Frequently, however, the theoretical ambiguity is removed by the use of a nominal possessive suffix (§ 24, 2) before the *-kai-*; e. g. *sari·'tsιγaivätcï* WONT TO BE A DOG, but *sari·'vuŋquχwaivätcï* WONT TO HAVE A DOG (§ 24, 2, e). On account of their particular frequency, forms in *-a-γai-* (§ 24, 2, a) are separately listed.

Examples of *-γai-, -q·ai-, -ŋqai-* TO HAVE are:

puŋqu-ˢ horse (owned)	*puŋqu'χwaiva·n·ιanι* I shall have a horse
ɔvi-'ini-ˢ stick-owned	*ɔvi''iniχainι* I have a stick
taŋa-ˢ knee	*taŋa'xainι* I have a knee
patcï-ŋwï- daughters (§ 48, 1, b)	*patcï'ŋwïχaιpïγa'* (he) had daughters
impï-ˢ what	*impï'xai'* what hast thou?
movʷi-ᵍ nose	*movʷi'ɬ·ai(y)aŋᴀ* he has a nose
aγɔ-ⁿ tongue	*aγɔ'ŋqwainι* I have a tongue
wïγï-ⁿ vulva	*wïγï'ŋqaip·ïγa'* (she) had a vulva
narɔ'ɔ-ⁿ clothes	*nï' narɔ''ɔŋqwa'* I have clothes

An example of subordinate *-ka·-q·u-* is:

piŋwa-^{s} wife	*piŋwa'xa·q·u* that (he) had as (his) wife

Examples of *-a-γai-* TO HAVE, BE PROVIDED WITH (subordinate *-aγa·-q·u-*) are:

o·χwɪ'vï- grass	*o·χwɪ'vïaχa'* to have grass
A'ta'vï- sand	*A'ta'vïaχaiaq·A* it is sandy
pɔvɔ·'- trails (§ 58, 2, b)	*pɔvɔ·'aγaip·ïγa'* (country) had trails (all over)
qamï'χanɪ- jackrabbit-camp	*qamï'χanɪaγaɪ'ťuai'* people (§ 29, 14) have a jackrabbit-camp
taŋwa- tooth	*taŋwa·'γax·qoαq·A* that it (her vulva) had teeth (< *taŋwa-aγa·-q·o-*)

Participial examples in *-kantï-*^{n}, *-aγantï-*^{n} are:

p̣ɔ'a-^{s} louse	*p̣ɔ'ȧχantï* having lice, lousy; plur. *p̣ɔ'aq·aγantïmï* several having lice
pu(w)a-^{s} supernatural power	*pu(w)a'γantï* having supernatural power, medicine-man
naŋqava-^{s} ear	*ava'^{a}t·ïA nana'ŋqavaχantï* big (obj.) ears (§ 58, 3, c) -having
sɔγɔ- moisture	*sɔγɔ'aχantï* having moisture, moist
qanɪ- house	*qunɪ'aγantï* house-possessed-having, camp, village

(c) *-γa-*, *-q·a-*, *-ŋqa-* TO ACQUIRE. Examples are:

qava·-^{s} horse	*wa·'q·utcanɪ qava·'x·A* two-objective-preterit-I horse-get, I received two horses
uru'v^{w}ï-^{s} stick for making arrow	*uru'v^{w}ïχap·ïγa'* got arrow-sticks
tümp^{w}i-^{g} rock	*tümp^{w}i'k̲·ava·n·ɪanɪ* I shall get a rock
aγɔ-^{n} tongue	*aγɔ'ŋqwava·n·ɪanɪ* I shall get a tongue

(d) *-ru-* (*-tcu-* after *i*; *-ntcu-* after nasal + *i*), *-t·u-*, *-ntu-* TO MAKE, TO MAKE INTO. The idea of MAKING is sometimes used in a somewhat extended sense. Examples are:

atcï-^{s} bow
tïγɪ'avï-^{s} deer-hide
paï'c·aγa-^{s} bridge

pa·na-^{s} bread
quma-^{s} husband

nïŋwï-^{s} person

impï-^{s} what
'aïc·ɪ-^{s} basket

qani-^{s} house
piyï-^{g} heart
ɔvi-^{n} wood
taŋwa-^{n} tooth

atcï'ruv^{w}*a·n·ɪ'* will make a bow
tïγɪ'avurup·ïγa' made a deer-hide
paï'c·axaRUqwap·ïγa' several made (it) into a bridge
pa·'narui' makes bread
quma'ruŋïaŋA (she) husband-makes, marries him
nïŋwu'runI to person-make me, consider me a person
impu'ruŋïaŋA what is he making?
'a'ïc·ɪtcuv^{w}*a·n·ɪ'* will make a basket
qani'ntcUpïγa' made a house
piyï't·ui' makes a heart
ɔvɪ'ntuv^{w}*a·n·ɪ'* will make wood
nï' taŋwa'ntuŋuaq·A I made a tooth out of it

(e) *-'a-* TO PUT ON FOR WEAR, TO WEAR. Examples are:

maavï- clothes

qarïn·ïmpï- saddle

'a·'n·U'ci- harness
qaγ(ɛ)i- necklace

maa·'vï'ai' puts on (his) clothes; *maa·'vï'aŋU* to be dressed up
qarï'n·ïmpïdt·ui' saddles (a horse; *-t·ui-* causative, § 29, 12)
'a·'n·U'cidt·ui' harnesses (a horse)
qaγ(ɛ')i'ai' puts necklace (or collar) around (one's neck); *tAxqa'xi'ai'* loops around the feet (or ankles)

(f) *-ru'a-*^{n} (*-tcu'a-*^{n} after *i*; *-ntcu'a-*^{n} after nasal + *i*), *-t·u'a-*^{n}, *-ntu'a-*^{n} TO BECOME, TURN INTO. This suffix is appended to both noun and adjective-verb stems. Examples are:

pu(w)a-^{s} supernatural power

qava·-^{s} horse

yuu-^{s} grease, *yuu'χwantï* fat (adj.)
yua·-^{s} level, plain

pu(w)a'r'uai' turns into a medicine-man, commences to be a medicine man
qava·'ru'αŋuntca·ŋA he became a horse
yuu·'ru'ap·ïγa' got fat
yuyu'a·r'uaŋqu' (it) would become level

aŋqa-^{s} red	*aŋqa'r'uai‘* turns red
qanɪ-^{s} house	*qanɪ'ntcu'aŋU* to become a house
tv·-^{g} black	*tv·'t·uαŋUpï'γa‘* turned black
ɔvɪ-^{n} stick	*ɔvɪ'ntu'αŋuntca·ŋA* he became a stick

(g) *-ru'i-*^{n} (*-tcu'i-*^{n} after *i*), *-t·u'i-*^{n}, *-ntu'i-*^{n} TO BECOME, TURN INTO. This suffix, which is evidently closely related to the preceding, is used with verb stems, particularly such as relate to time and the weather, less often with noun stems. Examples are:

tuγwa-^{s} to be dark, night	*tuγwa'ru'ɪntï* becoming night, at night
tɔmɔ-^{s} to be winter	*tɔmɔ'r'uɪntï* commencing winter
tam·a-^{s} to be spring	*tam·a'r'uɪntï* commencing spring; *ɔnɔ't·am·ar'uɪŋqU* when (it) becomes early in spring, early in spring
nana'p·ïtsɪ- old man	*nana'p·ïtcɪ't·cuɪŋumïntca·ŋ ‘ɔai‘* he has already become an old man
tatca-^{g} to be summer	*tatca't·uɪntï* commencing summer
yïv^{w}*ana-*^{g} to be autumn	*yïv*^{w}*a'nAt·uɪntï* commencing autumn
nïa- to blow	*ni(γ)a't·u'ɪntï* commencing to blow, wind
nïv^{w}*a'uŋwa-* to snow	*nïv*^{w}*a''uŋwat·uɪntɪŋwanɪ* snow-commencing-possessed-my, snow belonging to me
tuγu-^{n} to be clear weather	*tuγu'nt·uɪŋuq·v·'q·WA* it would clear up
qa·- to sing	*qa·'nt·uɪntɪŋ'wa·ŋA* sing-commencing-possessed-his, song belonging to him

(h) *-γa-*^{s}, *-q·a-*^{s}, *-ŋqa-*^{s} adjective-verb suffix. This suffix makes verbs of being out of adjective-verb stems, e. g. from *aŋqa-* RED (cf. *aŋqa-* in compounds and *aŋqa'-r'ua-* TO TURN RED) is formed *aŋqa-γa-* TO BE RED. It is particularly common with adjective-verb stems indicating color; it may also make color-verbs out of noun stems. Most frequently it is used in its participial form, *-karï-*^{n}. Examples are:

tɔ'ca-^{s} to be white	*tɔ'ca'χaRï* white
saγwa-^{s} to be blue	*saγwa'χaRï* blue
wantsɪ-^{s} antelope	*wantsɪ'χaRï* antelope-colored, light gray
tciŋka-^{s} to be rough	*tciŋka'xaRï* rough
yu'mɪ-^{s} to be warm	*yu'mɪ'χaRï pa·'* warm water
qʊ'tca-^{g} to be light gray; ashes (absolute *qʊ'tca'p·ï*)	*qʊ'tca'q·aRï* light gray
to·-^{g} to be black	*to·'q·waRï* black (probably coal-colored, cf. Fernandino *du·u-t* coal)
qwi·-^{g} smoke (in compounds)	*qwi·'k̲·aRï* smoke (as absolute noun)
paï-^{n} to be smooth	*pa'ïŋqaRï* smooth
sa·-^{n} to be raw	*sa·'ŋqaχo'oq·WA* when it is raw
siu-^{n} to be light gray (like rabbit's eyes)	*siu'ŋqwaRï* light gray and translucent

(i) *-ra-* adjective-verb suffix. This element is found only in a few stereotyped adjective-verbs, e. g.

cï'pï- cold (as noun, e. g. *cï'pï'-vʷa'* cold water)	*cï'pï'rai'* (object) is cold
yu'(w)a- (cf. perhaps *yu'mɪ-* under h)	*yu'(w)a'rai'* (it) is warm weather

(j) *Isolated elements.* One or two isolated verbalizing (or verb) suffixes that can not well be classified are given here. *-t·ca-* occurs in:

naŋqa-va- ear; *naŋqa-* to hear	*naŋqa't·ca-q·ai-* to listen (for resultative *-q·ai-*, see § 30, 9); *nana'ŋqAtca'q·aiva'* (they) will listen

-t·cï- (two-moraed) occurs in:

nïntcï'-γa- to shake (duratively; for *-γa-* see § 30, 1)	*nïntci't·cïi'* shakes; *nïntci't·cï-p·ïγa'* shook; *nïntcï't·cuq·ʊpï-γa'* started to shake

(2) *Elements suffixed to demonstrative stems.* For demonstrative stems *a-*, *i-* (ʲ*i'-*), *ma-* (*mʷa'-*), and *u-* (ʷ*u'-*) see § 43.

(a) *-ro'a-* TO BE; makes substantive verbs from demonstrative *a-* and *u-*, e. g. *aro'a-* TO BE (visible subject). Substantive verbs are dealt with in § 56.

(b) *-n·i-* TO ACT, DO, BE. This suffix makes verbs of action or manner out of demonstrative stems, also out of interrogative *aγa-*, e. g. *an·i-* TO DO SO, TO ACT THUS; *aγan·i-* TO DO WHAT? TO ACT HOW? For examples see § 43, 3. These verbs are often used absolutely as adverbs of manner, e. g. *aγa'nI* HOW?

(c) *-n·'i-* (*-n·i'i-*) verbalizing suffix appended to demonstrative stem + postposition (see § 43, 1). From *iva·-* THIS-AT, HERE, e. g., is formed *iva·n·'i-* TO BE HERE. It is possible that this element is identical with continuative *-n·'i-* (§ 30, 12); both are two-moraed. Examples are:

iva·-, ivä·- here	*ivä·'n·'ɪγïnI* here-be-present-I, I stay right here; *ivä·'n'ɪa·ŋ'a-xain·ɪ* $wA^{x}q\ddot{\imath}'k\cdot{}^{x}A$ here-be-*a-* (§ 19, 3, a)-he-indeed hither-go, he was coming here
(u)m^{w}α'va·- there	*waa(i)y (u)m^{w}α'va·n·'ɪk̟·a'* two there-be-perfective, two have been there

(d) *-q·a-* TO GO; makes verbs of movement out of independent adverbs and demonstrative stems + postposition (cf. c above). Examples are:

$wA^{x}q\imath'$- hither	$wA^{x}q\imath'k̟\cdot a\cdot{}^{a}ŋA$ he is coming (< *-q·a-aŋa-*)
ïiv^{w}ai- down	*ïiv^{w}a'ik·^{x}A* to go down (away from one)
ïi·i- up	*ïi·'^{i}k·^{x}A* to go up (away from one)
i(y)u'p̣·a- through here	*i(y)u'p̣·aq·anI* I went through here
u'a'xaruχwa- through it	*u'a'χaruχwaq·A* goes through the (house)

§ § 27–34. *Verb suffixes.*

§ 27. General remarks.

The suffixes added to verb stems or verbalized bases (see § 26) may be grouped into six distinct classes: suffixes of movement, of voice, of verbal aspect, of plurality, of tense, and of mode. Many of these may be considered as more properly formal than derivative in character, but the line is in any case not easy to draw.

§ 28. Suffixes of movement.

In origin these are in all probability verb stems that have become specialized as second members of verb + verb compounds (§ 18, 2, a). This appears quite plausible in view of the fact that several verb stems of movement (e. g. *paγ(a)i-*^{n} TO GO, *pa(i)yï-* TO RETURN) are frequently used in composition in a quasi-formal sense.

(1) *-γwa'ai-*^{s}, *-q·wa'ai-*^{s}, *-ŋqwa'ai-*^{s} TO GO WHILE -ING, TO MOVE. This is generally used only in verbs whose animate subject is singular. For corresponding plurals the compounded verb-stem *-m·ia-* SEVERAL MOVE is used (for examples see § 18, 2, a). Examples of *-γwa'ai-*^{s} are:

nɔntsɪ-^{s} to fly	*nɔntsɪ'χw'a.i‘* goes flying, flies away
wïnï- to stand, be stationed	*wi̯nï'χw'aip·ïγa‘* was stationed as (he) moved
ai-^{s} to say	*a'iχw'aip·ïγa‘* said as (he) went
yaŋwɪ-^{s} to carry	*yaŋwɪ'χw'aip·ïγa‘* went carrying

Of *-q·wa'ai-*^{s}:

pa(i)yï-^{g} to return	*pa(i)yɪ'q·wᵒ'a.i‘* return-goes, goes back
mïn·ïc·ɪ-^{g} to return, turn back	*mi̯nï'c·qwᵒ'aip·ïγa‘* went returning home
‘am·u'ˣUṗa-^{g} (to go) past them	*‘am·u'ˣUṗa(·)'q·waiŋup·ïγa‘* went past them
tu'uma-^{g} to take (several objects)	*tu'u'mAˣqwai'p·ïγa‘* went and took (several objects)

Of *-ŋqwa'ai-*^{s}:

NUˣqwi-^{n} to run	*NUˣqwi'ŋqw'a.i‘* goes running, runs off
paγ(a')i-^{n} to go	*paγ(a')iŋqw'a.i‘* walks off
tA‘ci'a-^{n} to dawn	*tA‘ci'aŋqwa'ai̯x·U* when (it) dawn-goes, when dawn approaches
tA‘cï'ṗa-^{n} to be evening	*tA‘cï'ṗ·aŋqwai'i̯x·U* as evening approaches
tUγwa'-r'ui-^{n} to get dark	*tuγwa'r'uɪŋqw'ai̯x·U* when (it) commenced to get dark
u'urai-^{n} (to go) towards it	*u'u'raiŋqw'aip·ïγa‘* went towards it

The idea of GOING, as some of these examples show, shades off into that of BECOMING.

(2) *-q·wa'ai-ˢ* (TO MOVE) OFF, AWAY. This is evidently nothing but a specialized use of the geminated form of the preceding suffix. It occurs, however, after spirantizing and nasalizing as well as after geminating stems and is clearly felt as a distinct, though related, element. Examples are:

paγ(ɛ)i-ⁿ to go (see a above)	*paγ(ɛ')iq·w'aiɬcarɔa·ŋᴀ* did he go away?
ya·- to carry (one object)	*ya·'q̇·waip·ïγa'aik·wᴀ* carried it away
tsip·i- to appear, emerge	*ts·pi'k·w'aiŋUpïγa'* went right through beyond
tɔγɔq·wi- to run	*tɔγɔ'q·WIqwa'aiyïaŋᴀ* he runs off
wa'aŋi-ˢ to yell (e. g. *wa'a'ŋι-χwa'a.i'* yells as he goes)	*wa'a'ŋIqwa'aiŋU* to call out while going past

Quite often *-q·wa'ai-ˢ* OFF is used in a secondary sense to indicate completion (cf. English TO DIE OFF), e. g.:

ya'ai- to die, be dying	*ya'a'ik·wᵊ'aivä'* die-off-shall, let him die
pᴀˣqa- to kill	*pᴀˣqa'q·wᵊ'aiŋUqwɑnI* when I kill off, when I have killed (but also *pᴀˣqa'q·w'ai-* to kill while on one's way)
cu(w)a- to consume	*cu(w)α''q·waaix̣·U* while eating (it) up
'a·'ιnι- to be silent	*'a·''ιnιk·wᵊ'aiŋUqwa·q·ᴀ* as soon as it became silent

Another common development in meaning is that of continuance or duration (cf. English TO COUNT OFF, TO WORK AWAY), e. g.:

yaγa- to cry	*yaχa'q̇·wɔ.i'* cries away, cries without interruption
ampaγa- to talk	*ampa'x·qwa'a.i'* talks away, keeps on talking
tï'qa- to eat	*tï'qa'q·w'ɔivä·nI* I'll eat away, I'll keep on eating

(3) *-γwa'ai-*^{s} TO GO IN ORDER TO. This element also is evidently merely a specialized use of the spirantized form of (a). Examples are:

qʊ'qwi- to shoot	*qʊ'qwi'χw'ɔiva·n·ɪanɪ* I shall go in order to shoot
uru'v^{w}ïγa- to get arrow-sticks	*uru'v^{w}ïχwɔ'ai'^{i}* go and get arrow-sticks
ya·- to carry (cf. under b)	*ya·'xw'ai'ŋwA* go and fetch him
ani- to do so	*ani'χw'aip·ïγa'* went and did so

In many cases it is not easy to be clear as to whether examples of *-q·wa'ai-* and *-γwa'ai-* are to be classed under (a) or under (b) and (c). It is highly probable that *-q·wa'ai-* (b) and *-γwa'ai-* (c) are related to each other as momentaneous and durative (see § 53, 2, b for momentaneous gemination). The two uses of *-γwa'ai-*, WHILE GOING and TO GO IN ORDER TO, are reflected in its plural correspondent *-m·ia-*, e. g. *qa·'m·ia-* SEVERAL SING WHILE ON (THEIR) WAY and SEVERAL GO IN ORDER TO SING.

(4) *-m'mia-* CONTINUOUS MOTION. This element, which is perhaps etymologically connected with plural *mia-* SEVERAL TRAVEL, is very similar in significance to *-kwa'ai-* (a) and to compounded *-paγ(a)i-* WHILE JOURNEYING. The idea of continuity, however, seems to be more explicit. Moreover, the movement referred to is not necessarily the straight-line movement of normal walking or travel, but may be the periodic movement say of dancing. Examples are:

pɔ·ya- to run	*pɔ·'yam'mɪa.i'* goes running, keeps on running
qa·- to sing	*qa·'m'mɪa.i'* sings while moving along (e. g. in the round-dance)
qarï- to sit, ride on horseback	*qarï'm'mɪa.i'* keeps on riding
ʊ'tcu'm'MIᶻk̨a- several have (their) eyes closed	*ʊ'tcu'm'MIᶻk̨am'mɪava'* (ye) shall have (your) eyes closed as (ye) dance
yaŋwɪ- to carry	*yaŋwɪ'm'mɪap·ïγa'* carried along
wï'ï- to dance	*wï'ï'm'iap·ïγa'* danced back and forth
pïnɪ- to look	*pïnɪ'm'mɪai'* looks while walking
tïv^{w}ai- (to go) west	*tïv^{w}a'im'mɪap·ïγa'* travelled westward

For *-m·ɪk·u-*, the inceptive form of this suffix, see § 30, 8.

(5) *-γi-ˢ, -k·i-ˢ, -ŋki-ˢ* TO COME WHILE -ING. This suffix is the correlative of (1). Examples of *-γi-ˢ* are:

nɔntsɪ-ˢ to fly	*nɔntsɪ'χi'* comes flying
qarï-ˢ to ride	*qarï'χi'* comes riding

Of *-k·i-ˢ*:

pa(i)yï-ᵍ to return	*pa(i)yɪ'k·i'* comes back
ya·-ᵍ to carry	*ya·'q·ï(y)aq·A* bring it (back)
ya·-ŋqï- to carry to	*ya·'ŋqïk·I* to bring to
watci- to put	*watci'k·ɪχainI* having put me away and come off
cïm^{w}ïa- to leave	*cïm^{w}ï'A^{x}qiɬcaŋWA* left him and came (back)
nïm^{w}ɪ'vatcuγwa- (to go) to us (excl.)	*nïm^{w}ɪ'vatcux·WAqɪ'* comes to visit us

Of *-ŋki-ˢ*:

paγ(a)i-ⁿ to walk	*paγ(a')iŋki'* comes walking
pɔ·ya-ⁿ to run	*pɔ·'yaŋqïp·ïγa'* came running
moi-ⁿ to lead	*mǫï'ŋkitcimï* those who come leading

It seems quite likely that, analogously to *-q·wa'ai-* (b), *-k·i-ˢ* is used after all types of stems to indicate TO COME AWAY; it would be the momentaneous correlate of durative *-γi-ˢ* (6). Some of the above examples suggest this.

(6) *-γi-ˢ* TO COME IN ORDER TO, analogous to *-γwa'ai-* (3).

qa·- to sing	*qa·'χɪ'* comes to sing
ya·- to carry	*ya·'x·ɪk̟aai'* has come to get (cf. *ya·q·ɪ-* to come carrying, to bring)
nɔ·- to carry on one's back	*nɔ·'χwɪaŋA* come to carry him (cf. *nɔ·'q·wɪaŋA* come carrying him)
tɔ'ɔivïɔra- to dig up bulrushes	*tɔ'ɔ'ivïɔraχɪp·ïγa'* came to dig up bulrushes

§ 29. Suffixes of voice.

There are two groups of suffixed elements that indicate voice, i. e. direction of action with reference to subject, object, or indirect object. The first group (1–9) is a primary series that is not freely used; that is closely welded with the verb stem (often with internal stem changes); that occurs in contrasting pairs of mediopassive (or intransitive) and active (or transitive); and that, for the most part, involve at the same time other ideas than that of voice, namely verbal aspect (see 3 below) and number. This group will be only listed here for convenience of reference and taken up later under other headings. The second group (10–14) is used with great freedom and indicates voice relations of a somewhat more external sort. Suffixes of the latter sort are often appended to the former.

(1) *-q·i-* mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of momentaneous aspect and singular number (see § 30, 3).

(2) *-γi-*, (*-ŋqï-*) mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of iterative-durative aspect (see § 30, 2).

(3) *-γa-* mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of durative aspect (see § 30, 1).

(4) *-tcai-* mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of primarily durative aspect and of plural number (see § 31, 2, a).

(5) *-na-* transitive suffix of durative aspect and singular number of object (see § 31, 2, b).

(6) *-n'na-* transitive suffix of momentaneous aspect and singular number of object (see § 31, 2, c).

(7) *-tca-* transitive suffix of plural number of object (see § 31, 2, d).

(8) *-a·-* final stem vowel indicating active voice (see § 53, 1, d); correlative of *-i-* (9).

(9) *-i-* final stem vowel indicating inactive voice (see § 53, 1, d); correlative of *-a·-* (8).

(10) *-ŋqï-*^{g} transitivizing or activating suffix appended to verbs of primarily mediopassive aspect. It is particularly common with preceding *-q·i-*, *-γi-* (1 and 2 above) and generally occurs with an instrumental prefix in the verb (§ 21). Before it mediopassive *-i-* (see 9 above) sometimes becomes active *-a·-* (8); an *-a-* of the active stem

is lengthened to *-a·-*. No doubt it is a specialized use of indirective *-ŋqï-ᵍ* (see 11 below). Examples are:

tᴀ'pi'ťca- to crush by trampling	*tᴀ'pi''tcᴀqɪŋqï'q·wᴀ* to crush it (cause it to become crushed) by trampling
mïn'ïc·ɪ- to turn, roll over (intrans.)	*maŋwï'n'ïcɪŋqïaŋᴀ* to roll him over (lit., with the hand)
tayu'm'muχwɪ to be poking with the foot	*tayu'm'ᴍUˣqwɪŋqï* to poke, kick, spur on with the foot
(*-putsɪγɪ-*)	*qï'pu'tsɪxɪŋqï* to crush between one's teeth
wï'ɪ- to fall	*tsɪŋwï''ɪŋqï* to knock down with a stick
yauq·wɪ- to go in (momentaneous)	*maya'Uˣqwɪŋqïi'* pushes in
ɔp·a'q·(a)i- to have a hole, be perforated (in one place)	*taɔ'p·Aˣqa·ŋqï* to kick a hole into
to·q·wɪ- to stretch (intrans.), *to·q·wa-* (trans.)	*maru'x·qwa·ŋqïp·ïγai(y)aq·ᴀ* stretched it
tïŋwa- to close (trans.)	*marï'ŋwa·ŋqïpïγa'* shut with (his) hands

(11) *-ŋqï-ᵍ* indirective: TO, FOR. This extremely common suffix expresses dative or indirective relations and may be rendered TO, FOR, FROM, WITH, AGAINST. The indirect object is always animate. Examples are:

ya·- to carry	*ya·'ŋqïk·ɪ* to bring to
uni- to do, make	*ɥni'ŋkïpïγa'* made (it) for (him)
a·'γawantci- to hide	*a·'γawantciŋqïmʷɬ'* has been hiding from (him)
Uˣqwɪ'yuru- to make a bow and arrows	*Uˣqwɪ'yuruŋqup·ïγa'* made a bow and arrows for
naŋqa'ťca-q·ai- to listen	*naŋqa'ťcaŋqïqaiyïaŋᴀ* listens for, instead of him
to·q·wa- to bet	*to·'q·wαŋqïy'ïŋwᴀ* bets against him
mantcu''aiķ·ai- to wait	*mantcu''aiŋqïqai(y)αŋᴀ* wait for him
sa'a- to make mush	*sa'a'ŋqïnɪ* make mush for me
qa·- to sing	*qa·'ŋqïtu'a(i)yïnɪ* I sing for people (indef.; see 14 below), I sing with them

The idea of FOR quite often leads to the "ethical dative." In such cases the person of the indirect object is not really affected by the action at all but is merely interested in it. Such ethical datives with first person indirect object are frequently employed to indicate an affectionate attitude on the part of the speaker, e. g.:

aχa'n·iŋqïŋʊqwaiyun·ɪ' aniˈl̥·aˑ what-do-for-momentaneous-resultative-subordinate-me-thou do-so? what happened to you for me? what, pray, did you do that . . .?

pǫn·ɪ'avïn· aʀĭ naxa·'ᵃŋ'wi̯nɪŋqĭ skunk-blanket-my it be-clothed-stand-for (me), stand clothed in my skunk-blanket for me, please stand clothed in my skunk-blanket

naŋa'i'aiɬ·uiŋqïaŋanɪ cause him to get angry for me, (you, who are dear to me,) make him angry

With this last example (*-ɬ·ui-ŋqï-* TO CAUSE FOR as ethical dative) contrast *naya'p̣·a·ŋqïɬuip·ïγaˑ* CAUSED (THEM) TO APPEAR.

In a considerable number of cases the indirective *-ŋqï-*[g] has grown so to the stem as to give a new meaning in which the indirective idea is not very prominent, e. g.:

pitci- to arrive	*pitci'ŋqï-* to arrive to, engage with (cf. also *uni-vitci-* to do-arrive, attack)
naγuq·wi- to reciprocally-shoot	*naγu'q·wɪŋqï-* to fight
tua- to give birth	*nïntu'aŋqï-* to person-bear-to, give birth to

(12) *-ɬ·ui-* causative, freely suffixed to both transitive and intransitive verbs. Examples are:

ʌˑpïi- to sleep	*ʌˑpï'ɪˑɬuiˑ* puts to sleep
qa·- to sing	*qa·'ɬ·uinɪ* make me sing
tïγai- to take place	*tïγa'ɪˑɬuiyï'q·wʌ* to bring it about
'aiyu- to be good	*nam·ï''aiʏʊɬuiŋup·ïγaˑ* first caused to be good, first resuscitated
ɔaq·ɪ- to spill (intrans.)	*ɔa'q·ˣɪɬuivaʌˣqa·ŋʌ* he'll spill it
na'ai- to burn (intr.)	*na'a'iɬ·ui-* to make a fire
pïnɪ- to see	*pïnɪ'ɬ·uɬ̣·aˑ* (he) let (him) see (it)

For passives of causatives and causatives of passives, see (13) below.

Much less frequently *-ɬ·ui-* makes causatives out of nouns, e. g.:

tsɪ'a'mpɪyua·- wild-rose plain — *tsɪá'mpɪyua·t·ɪp·ïγa'* caused wild-rose plain to be

qan·ɪ- house + possessive *-a-* — *qan·ɪ'Aťuip·ïγa'* caused (it) to have houses

A few survivals seem to indicate that *-ť·ui-* is but the geminated form of an older variable *-r'ui-*, *-ť·ui-*, *-nťui-*, which has become generalized for all cases. There seems also to have been an alternation between momentaneous *-ť·ui-* andd urative *-r'ui-* (see § 53, 2, b). An example of causative *-nťui-* is *'a'c·inťui-* TO LIKE. Causative *-r'ui-* (durative) is exemplified in *iyä'r'ui-* TO CAUSE TO BE AFRAID, TO FRIGHTEN; with this contrast momentaneous *iyä'ť·ui-* TO FRIGHTEN (at one moment of time).

(12a) *-n·i-* causative. This element occurs so uncommonly that it has not been found possible to determine its precise application. Examples are:

yu'u'runɪp·ïγai(y)aq̇·aŋA leg-make-causative-past-it (vis.)-he (vis.), he made a leg out of it

naŋwï'q·a'mɪnɪp·ïγa' self-cover-causative-past, covered (him)self (with leaves) (cf. *wï'qa'm'ɪ'* covers, tr.)

NA'sɔ'xɔ'ma'nɪp·ïγa' covered (him)self with moist ground, dirt (cf. also *NA'sɔ'xu'map·ïγa'* covered self with dirt)

In the last two examples, which are provided with reflexive prefixes, it is to be noted that the reflexive is better considered the logical object of the causative suffix than of the verb; e. g. HE CAUSED HIMSELF TO BE COVERED, not HE CAUSED TO COVER HIMSELF. Contrast, with ordinary causative *-ť·ui-* (12), *navï'nɪťuiḵ·ai(y)aŋanɪ* HE CAUSED ME TO SEE HIMSELF, not HE CAUSED HIMSELF TO SEE ME. Possibly *-n·i-* is best defined as an indirect causative, like *-ŋqï-* (10, 11), whose *-ŋ-* is perhaps a reduced form of *-n·i-*; e. g. HE MADE IT INTO A LEG, HE COVERED TO HIMSELF.

(13) *-t·ï·-s* passive; sometimes heard as *-t·ï-*, but always two-moraed. This suffix is freely used to make true passives out of transitive verbs. Examples are:

tɔna- to hit, punch — *tɔna't·ï·ɨvʷa·n·ɪanɪ* I shall be hit

pAˣqa-ŋu- to kill — *pAˣqa'ŋʊti'qaq·a'* (they) have been killed

ivi-c·ua-ŋu- to drink up — *pa· ivi'c·uaŋʊtixqa'* water has-been-drunk-up

taŋa- to kick	*taŋa't·ï·q·atcaraŋwA* we were all kicked
ɥnivitci- to attack	*ɥni'vitcit·ï·γa'* when being attacked
sA'pi'χa- to overcome	*sA'pi'χ·AïïRÏ* one who is overcome
qɔ'ɔi- to kill several	*qɔ'ɔ'it·ï·rïm·į̈A* those (obj) who are killed

The last two examples illustrate passive participles in *-t·ï·-rï-*^{n} (cf. § 25, 6, a). These differ from passive participles in *-p·i-* and *-p·ï-* (§ 25, 5) in referring to passing or non-characteristic states. Contrasting with *sA'pi'χ·AïïRÏ*, for instance, is *sA'pi'χam·ip·I* ONE WHO IS ALWAYS OVERCOME (*-m·i-* is usitative, § 30, 10).

Passives may be readily formed from causatives, e. g. *ivi't·uiŋUtï·tca·ŋA* DRINK-CAUSE-MOMENTANEOUS-PASSIVE-PRETERIT- HE, HE WAS CAUSED TO DRINK. Here the causative suffix precedes the passive, as is to be expected. Curiously enough, the same order is followed in causatives of passives, an indirective *-ŋqï-* coming in between the causative suffix and the passive *-t·ï·-*, e. g.:

maa'it·uiŋkïtï·v^{w}*a·ŋaraŋwA* catch-cause-to-passive-shall-he-us, he will get us caught (lit., he will cause to us to be caught)

pAˣqa'nt·uiŋqïtï·tca·ŋA kill-cause-to-passive-preterit-him, (he) caused him to be killed (for *-nt·ui-* cf. 12 above)

In other words, the passive suffix can not precede the causative. In the preceding examples the indirective is required to point to the logical object as the indirect object, the passive of the verb itself being apparently conceived of as the direct object, e. g. HE WILL-CAUSE-BEING-CAUGHT TO-US. That these forms are causatives of passives, not, as would be inferred from their appearance, passives of causatives, is proved by the absence of a plural subjective *-q·a-* (see § 31, 1, c) in the first form above; this would be required if the fomr were to be understood as WE SHALL BE CAUSED TO BE CAUGHT BY HIM.

(14) *-t·u'a-*^{s} (*-t·ua-*^{s}) impersonal. Verbs with impersonal subject or, less often, object refer either to an indefinitely defined person or to a collectivity, people in general. In the latter case, if used subjectively, it may be preceded by the pluralizing *-q·a-* (§ 31, 1, c). The impersonal suffix is often employed as the equivalent of the passive, never simultaneously with it. It follows perfective *-q·ai-* and narrative preterit *-p·ï(a)γai-*, but precedes present *-yï-* and future *-va·(n·ia)-* (see § 34). Curiously enough, present *-yï-* regularly

follows *-t·u'a-* even in preterit tense forms (cf. also *-p·ïa-γai-ɬ·ua-yï-*; § 32, 8). As already noted (§ 19, 2, e), it is frequently accompanied by enclitic *-n·oa-*. Examples of subjective *-t·u'a-* are:

pʌ'qa'ŋʊɬua(i)yïaŋʌ kill-momentaneous-impersonal-present-him, they (indef.) kill him, he is being killed

pʌ'pa'q·ʌqwa'iŋup·ïγaɪ'ɬua(i)yïamï kill (distributive)- go-momentaneous-past-impersonal-present-them, people went to kill them

pʌ'qa'ŋʊqwaɪ'ɬua(i)yïaŋʌ kill-momentaneous-perfective-impersonal-present-him, they (indef.) killed him, he was killed

tavɪ'ɬ·ua'amɪ hit-impersonal-thee, you (were) hit (by somebody)

ɥɪɪ'ɬ·uava·q·ʌ do-impersonal-shall-it, let some one do it

nï' pïɪɪ'ɫ·a.i ivi't·u'ª I see drink-impersonal, I see some one drinking

tï'qa'q·ʌɬuayïr'uɑn·uaxain·ɪ' eat-plural-impersonal-present-interrogative-indefinite-indeed, it seems that people are eating

As impersonal object *-t·u'a-ˢ* seems to be used only indirectly after *-ŋqï-*, e. g.:

qa·'ŋqïtu'a(i)yïnɪ sing-to-impersonal-present-I, I sing with them (indef.)

naγu'q·wɪŋqïɬ·u'a(u)x·ʊ fight-to-impersonal-when, when fighting (with people)

'nï' o·'p·a' anɪ'ŋqïɬuaχw'ɔiva' I that-way do-to-impersonal-go-shall, I shall go to engage one thus

yaa'iŋqïɬuap·ïγa' hunt-to-impersonal-past, was hunting with the rest

naia'ŋwɪŋqïɬ·uɑq·ˣʌpïγa' play-hand-game-to-impersonal-plural-past, (they) played the hand game with people, the hand game was played with them

These examples show that *-ŋqï-ɬ·ua-* generally denotes coöperation with a group. Moreover, the two suffixes form a close unit, as they occur before elements that would normally precede *-t·u'a-* alone (e. g. *-γw'ai-* TO GO TO, narrative preterit *-p·ïγai-*, plural subject *-q·a-*); see above examples.

§ 30. Suffixes of verbal aspect.

By "aspect," a term borrowed from Slavic grammar, is here meant the temporal range of the action, i. e. its definition with respect to such concepts as momentaneousness, durativeness, inception, iteration. These and like concepts have no primary connection with the concept of relative time, which is the province of the temporal suffixes (§ 32).

Among the ideas expressed by aspect suffixes, those of momentaneousness and durativeness are the most important. Every verb has a durative and a momentaneous form, the former being generally the primary form of the verb, the latter expressed by internal consonant gemination, glottalization, reduplication, the suffixing of certain elements, or a combination of these. The durative, as its name implies, expresses continuous action, action conceived of as lasting for an appreciable length of time (e. g. TO DRINK); the momentaneous conceives of the action as taking but a moment of time (e. g. TO TAKE A DRINK). Following are a few preliminary examples of the distinction:

DURATIVE	MOMENTANEOUS
qɔvɔ'q·wi- to break	*qɔ'pɔ'q·wi-*
naya'va- to seem	*naya'p̣·a·-ŋu-*
mantcu'γwi-na- to crush	*mantcu'q·wi-n'na-*
yaγa'- to cry	*yaya'γa-* to burst into tears
ivi'- to drink	*ivi'-ŋu-*
qwatca'-γa- to splash about	*qwA'tca'-q·i-* to splash (once)
tïγai- to take place	*tï'qa'ŋ'wi-*
nɔntsi'- to fly	*nɔntsi'-k·u-*

The various methods of forming the momentaneous exemplified above are to be considered as more or less equivalent. No simple rules can be given for all cases. One simply has to learn, e. g., that such a form as **yaγa'ŋUpïγa'* is not in use, but that *yaya'x·Apïγa'* must be employed.

The aspects that may be recognized in Paiute are the durative, the momentaneous, the inceptive, the iterative, the durative-iterative, the resultative, the usitative, and the continuative. Moreover, ideas that belong to the category of aspect are sometimes expressed by means of compounded verb-stems or suffixes of motion (e. g. the cessative by *-mau̯p̣·a-*, § 18, 2, a; the continuative or durative by *-qarï-* TO SIT, *-q·wa'ai-* TO GO OFF, § 28, 2). A careful study of the nuances of aspect formation can hardly be given here. We shall simply list the various aspect suffixes with examples. For momentaneous (and inceptive) verbs formed by gemination or glottalization, see § 53, 2; by reduplication, § 58, 5. For iteratives formed by reduplication, with or without accompanying gemination, glottalization, or both, see § 58, 4.

(1) *-γa-*[g] durative of active intransitive (mediopassive) verbs. By a mediopassive verb is meant one that expresses action without

definite agency, e. g. TO SHAKE (intr.), as contrasted with transitive TO SHAKE and passive TO BE SHAKEN. Sometimes *-γa-* seems to be used also with agentive active verbs. Examples of durative *-γa-* are:

nïntcï'γai' (it) shakes
piyɔ'xwai' (he) drags (it); *piyɔ'x·ʌqɪp·ïγa'aiŋwʌ* he came home dragging (it)
yɪ'u'χwai' moves around
yu'mu'x·(w)ʌpïγa' (he) moved
qwɪmpu'χwai' (it) wiggles
si'yu'χwai' slides

The momentaneous correlate of *-γa-* is *-q·i-* (see 3 below).

The element *-γa-ᵍ* is very commonly employed in durative verbs expressing a continuous sound of some sort, e. g.:

ampa'γa- to talk
p̣o·'γux·ʌpïγain·ɪ' there was a sound as of something going through (his) flesh (for *-n·ia-* in these and other *-γa-* verbs, see § 19, 2, d).
ťïŋwa'vaγa- to make a noise
ki·'yuχwa(i)yïn·ɪ' makes a noise like rattling coins
pa·'rɑxa(i)yïn·ɪ' (rain) patters
qʊ'pa'raχa- to pop in burning
pɔ·'n'nɔχwa(i)yïn·ɪ' sounds like drumming
no·'ruχwa(i)yïn·ɪ' sounds like a heavy object being dragged on a smooth level surface
pi'ŋkiχa(i)yïn·ɪ' sounds like dripping water
si·'χaxan·i'iyïn·ɪ' makes a rustling noise (for *-n·i'i-*, see 12 below)

The momentaneous correlate of this *-γa-* also is *-q·i-* (or *-ŋqï-*).

(2) *-γi-*, (*-ŋqï-*) durative-iterative, chiefly of active intransitive, sometimes transitive, verbs. It is often transitivized by means of *-ŋqï-* (§ 29, 10). It differs from *-γa-* in conceiving of the action as not strictly continuous, but broken up into a rapid series. It differs from the normal iterative (expressed by reduplication) in that the repeated acts cohere into a single durative unit. Examples are:

taŋ'wï'tcɪγɪ' keeps time by tapping with (his) foot
mavi'tsɪχɪ' claps hands
qïnɪ'p·uχwɪ' (mouse) gnaws
tʌ'pi'ŋ'ana'χɪŋqïi' stamps (on the ground to make it smooth)
tʌˣqu'tsɪ'nɪχɪɪ' puts feet into (shoes, stirrups)

mayu'm'muχwɪ' pokes with (his) finger
tan·ï'ntcïχi' keeps on shaking with (his) feet (cf. *nïntcïγa-* under a)
tAˣqi'uγɪŋqïqap·ïγa' (they) chipped (it) into small pieces
ovʷo'q·waγ(ε)i' (it) bounces up and down (like a rubber ball)
tuvʷa'γᵃitcai- several pull out (intr.), emerge

Sound-verbs indicating a continuous series of sounds of like nature may also have the *-γi-* suffix, e. g.:

qU'pa'ra·χ(ε)iɬ̣·a- several pop (one after another)
wïnï'ruxwɪ- to make a noise on the rasp
wa'a'uxwɪ' barks
w'a'tcɪγɪŋUpïγa' (he) whooped

A few such verbs have *-ŋqï-* instead of *-γi-*, e. g.:

pU'qwɪ'aiŋqïyïn·ɪ' (he) pants
puŋ'wi'ŋqïi' (mouse, rat) makes a peeping noise
ki(y)ε'ŋqïi' laughs

(3) *-q·i-* momentaneous, chiefly of active intransitive and mediopassive verbs. Transitive forms in *-q·i-ŋqï-*. Morphologically, *-q·i-* is the regular momentaneous correspondent of *-γi-*, formed from it by gemination (§ 53, 2 b); it contrasts with both *-γa-* and *-γi-* forms. Examples of its use are:

tA'pɪ''tcAqɪŋqï'q·WA to crush it by stepping on (it)
mɪ'na'q·I (one thing) break(s) off
tanï'ntcïqiŋqïpïγai(y)aq·A (he) shook it by trampling once with (his) feet
mava't·Aˣqiŋqï to burst by means of the hand
tAˣqɪ'UˣqwɪŋqïpïγaiAˣqa·'mï they hit it so as to have (it) go to pieces
tU'pa'q·Ipïγa' (one) pulled out (intrans.), emerged
tɔ'pa'q·I (one object) come(s) loose
si'yu'q·WI to slide, slip

Midway between properly momentaneous forms in *-q·i-* and durative forms in *-γa-* or *-γi-* are certain verbs in *-q·i-* with non-momentaneous form of stem, i. e. with ungeminated consonant. These may be termed durative-momentaneous. Examples of durative-momentaneous versus momentaneous forms are:

qɔvɔ'q·wɪ- to break (intr.): *qɔ'pɔ'q·wɪ-* to break instantaneously
paγa'q·(a)i- to tear slowly (but in one tear): *pA'qa'q·ɪ-* to tear

In such verbs *-q·i-* does not seem to alternate with *-γa-* and *-γi-*.

Verbs indicating a momentaneous sound also have a *-q·i-* suffix, e. g.:

kɪˣx̣a'q·in·ɪ' (it) makes a sound as of when something is thrust through paper

sa·'mUˣqwiÿin·ɪ' makes a deep noise as when a stone is thrown into a well

qï·'k·in·ɪ' (it) sounds like one tear of a rag

U'cu'q·wɪ' whistles

(4) *-n·a-* durative transitive with singular object: *-n'na-* momentaneous transitive with singular object. See § 31, 2, b and c.

(5) *-ŋu-ⁿ* momentaneous. This is by far the most common momentaneous suffix. It follows most verb stems and is also employed after many derivative and verbalizing suffixes. Examples are:

ivi- to drink	*ivi'ŋU* to take a drink
maain·i- to touch (duratively)	*maa'in·ɪŋU* to touch (for a moment)
qwïï- to take (one object)	*qwïï'ŋU* to pick up (one object)
maa·'vï'a- to be dressed	*maa·'vï'aŋU* to dress (intrans.)
aŋqa-ˢ to be red	*aŋqa'r'uaŋU* to turn red
pa(i)yi- to return	*pa(i)yi'ŋUpïγa'* returned (conceived as non-durative act)
un·i- to do	*tcaγɪ'p· ɥnɪ'ŋUpïγa'* near did-momentaneously, got near
tsip·i- to appear, emerge	*ts·pɪ'ŋUpïγa'* came out, (suddenly) appeared
ai- to say	*a'iŋUpïγa'* spoke out

In particular cases *-ŋu-ⁿ* may take on an inceptive or cessative significance, but its true force is never intrinsically inceptive or cessative. Examples of these developments of the primary momentaneous idea are:

(a) *tɔγɔq·wi-* to run	*tɔγɔ'q·wɪŋuɪ'* gets ready to run, starts to run
yaŋwi- to carry	*yaŋwɪ'ŋU* to start to carry along
ivi- to drink	*ivi'ŋuÿïaŋA* he is about to drink, *ivi'ŋuχwa'* while about to drink
cv·'yu-c·u- (to be) one	*cv·'yuŋuc·U* to become one

(b) *cua-* to consume	*cuɑ́'ŋumïʻtsi'q·wA* after having finished eating it
ivi- to drink	*ivi'ŋuntca·ŋA* he (just) finished drinking

These examples show that *-ŋu-ⁿ* in the present (*-yï-*) may indicate a momentaneous (or inceptive) activity that is just about to take place (cf. the use of momentaneous forms in Russian to indicate the future). The idea of imminent activity is still more explicitly rendered by *-ŋuntsɪ-*, compounded of *-ŋu-ⁿ* and diminutive *-(n)tsɪ-* (§ 35, 2). Thus, a form like *tïʻqa'ŋuntsɪ-* EAT-MOMENTANEOUS (INCEPTIVE)-LITTLE, TO BE A LITTLE OFF FROM BEGINNING TO EAT, easily comes to mean TO BE ABOUT TO EAT. Examples of pre-inceptive *-ŋuntsɪ-* are:

qʊʻqwɪ'ŋuntsɪk̲·ɑnɪ I am ready to shoot (for *-k̲·a-* see § 32, 2)
ya'uq·wɪŋuntsik·ᵻA (the sun) is about to set
Aʻpï'iŋunts·k̲ɑnɪ I am about to fall asleep, I am sleepy

(6) *-ŋ'wi-* momentaneous (intransitive). This suffix, which may be related to *-ŋu-ⁿ*, occurs only in two or three verbs, its durative correlative being a rarely occurring *-i-* or, in one case, *-q·a-*. These verbs are:

DURATIVE	MOMENTANEOUS
tïγai- to take place	*tïʻqaŋ'wi-*
piyai- to be left over	*piyaŋ'wi-*
cuwaq·a- to breathe	*cuwaŋ'wi-* to take a long breath

(7) *-q·u-*, *-q̇·u-* momentaneous; inceptive. This element, like *-ŋu-ⁿ*, seems to be primarily momentaneous in significance and in a number of verbs is used instead of *-ŋu-ⁿ*. Some verbs have both *-ŋu-ⁿ* and *-q·u-* forms, generally with some idiomatic difference of meaning. In many cases, moreover, *-q·u-* is a properly inceptive element, as in durative-inceptive *-γa-q·u-*. What nuance of meaning differentiates *-q·u-* and *-q̇·u-* is not clear. Presumably *-q̇·u-* is more definitely momentaneous in character (see § 53, 2, a, 3); as inceptive it probably indicates a sharp moment of beginning.

Examples of momentaneous *-q·u-* are:

pAˣqa- to beat, kill	*pAˣqa'q·u-* to give a licking: *pAˣqa'ŋu-* to kill
wï'ï- to fall	*wï'ï'q·u-* to drop down, fall out

tʊ'pʷi- to be used up	*tʊ'pʷi'k·u-* to become used up
'i'(ɣ)ʊpa'- to go by here	*'i'(ɣ)ʊpa'q·ʊ* to have (just) gone by here
tsip·i- to appear, emerge	*ts·pi'k·u-* to ride (a horse): *ts·pi'ŋu-* to emerge
ai- to say	*a'iḵ·Aˣqu-* say-plural-momentaneous, each in his turn say(s)
nana- to grow up	*nana'q·umï·-* to finish growing, to have grown up (for *-mï·-* see 13)

An inceptive meaning is more clearly discernible in:

nɔ·- to carry on one' back	*nɔ'ɔ'q·ʊpïɣa'aik·ᴡA* started to carry them on (his) back
ivi- to drink	*ivi'k·u'uq·ᴡA* to start to drink it
marïn·a- to chase	*mari'n'aq·ʊ* to (start to) chase, to give chase
qA'qa'rï- to run away	*qA'qa'r'ïq·ʊ* to jump off to run away
yaŋwi- to carry	*yaŋ'wɪ'k·u'q·ᴡA* to take it away, carry it off
pɔrɔ- several proceed	*pɔru'q·ʊpïɣa'* (they) started off
NUˣqwi'- to flow	*NUˣqwɪ'k·ʊpïɣa'* started to flow
A'pï'i- to sleep	*A'pï'ik·ᶻʊ* to fall asleep
ɔrɔŋwi- to roar	*ɔrɔ'ŋwɪk·ʊ* to start roaring
qanɪntcu- to make a wickiup	*qanɪ'ntcʊqup·ïɣa'* started to make a wickiup
maa·'vï'a- to be dressed	*maa·'vï'aq·ʊ* to begin to dress
ampaɣa- to talk	*ampa'χaq·ʊ* to begin to talk

Analogous to *-ŋuntsɪ-* (see 5) is *-q·untsɪ-*, which occurs less frequently. An example is:

nïntcï'ɣaq·ʊ to begin to shake	*nïntcï'x·Aqv(·)ntsɪk·ᶻA* (it) is just about to shake

(7a) *-q·wi-*. This suffix seems to occur as a correlative to momentaneous *-q·u-* in *tʊ'pʷi-k·wi-* TO BE USED UP (cf. *tʊ'pʷi-k·u-* TO GET USED UP < *tup·ʷi-* TO BE USED UP, TO BE WITHOUT REMAINDER), e. g.: *tʊ'pʷɪ'k·wɪɣïaq·A* it is used up; *tʊ'pʷɪ'k·wɪtca·q·A* it has been used up; *nï' tʊ'pʷɪ'k·wɪɬuiq·ᴡA* I cause them (inan.) to be used up, I use them up

(8) *-mɪk·u-* inceptive of verbs of continuous movement. The normal inceptive of *-m'mia-* (§ 28, 4) would be *-m'miaq·u-*, which is sometimes found, e. g.:

qa·'mɪa- to sing along	*qa·''mɪaq·U* to start singing

More typical, however, are forms in *-mɪk·u-*, e. g. :

qarïm'mia- to ride along	*qarï'm·ɪk·U* to ride off
A'sɪ'a·RU^{x}qwa·γɪm'mia- to move along under the surface	*A'sɪ'a·RU^{x}qwa·γɪmɪ'kup·ïγa'* started to travel under the surface
qa·m'mia- to sing along	*qa·'m·ɪ'qup·ïγa'* started in to sing (along)
yaŋwɪm'mia- to carry along	*yąwɪ'mɪ'quaq·A* take and carry it along
unɪm'mia- to do so while moving along	*ųnɪ'mɪ'qup·ïγa'* started to move on in so doing

(9) *-q·ai-* resultative. This suffix indicates a durative state or activity which is the result of the action predicated by the verb stem; e. g. TO HOLD as resultative of TO GRASP. Resultative verbs are very common in Paiute. Examples are:

tca'ai- to catch	*tca'a'iḵ·ai-* to hold (in one's hand)
uŋwai- to hang (trans.)	*uŋwa'ɪḵai-* to be hanging, to hang (intr.)
maain·i- to touch	*maa'inɪ'ḵai-* to have one's hand on
yaŋwi- to carry	*yaŋwɪ'ḵ·ai-* to have in one's hand
wï'tu'v^{w}ua- to cover	*wï'tu'v^{w}uaq·ai-* to have (one's eyes, hands, or other part of body) covered
qï'ca'ra·- to open one's mouth	*qï'ca'ra·q·ai-* to have one's mouth open
pin'nara·- to spread one's legs apart in bow-legged manner	*pin'na'ra·q·ai-* to stand bow-legged
sɔtsɪ-ŋu- to take a peep	*sɔtsɪ'ḵ·ai-* to peep (duratively)
tïγai- to take place	*tïγa'ɪ'ḵai-* to continue
cɔ·ya·- to bend (intr.)	*cɔ·'iḵ·ai-* to be bent
aγan·i- to do in what manner? how?	*aγa'n·ɪ^{x}ḵai-* to be how?
an·i- to do thus	*ani'ḵ·ai-* to be thus, to remain so

The active participle of *-q·ai-* is *-q·antï-* (cf. § 26, 1, a and b; § 25, 6, d), e. g.:

'a·'ınıx̂·ai- to be silent	*'a·''ınıx̂·antï* one who is silent

Before subordinating *-q·u-* (§ 55, 1, e) resultative *-q·ai-* appears as *-q·a-* (cf. § 26, 1, a and b), e. g.:

ınix̂·ai- to be doing	*ıni'x̂·a·q·oaŋA* while (he) was doing so to him
ınıt·uix̂·ai- to cause to be (do) so	*ını't·üix̂·a·q·uŋwA* as he has caused to do so

Note that in causatives of resultatives, causative *-t·ui-* precedes resultative *-q·ai-* instead of following it, as one would logically expect; cf. causatives of passive verbs (§ 29, 13).

(10) *-m·i-ⁿ*, *-m·ia-* usitative. As its name implies, the usitative is used to indicate customary activity. The form in *-m·ia-* is used as a usitative present (without *-yï-* suffix; see § 32, 1), the form in *-m·i-ⁿ* in all other cases.

Examples of the usitative present in *-m·ia-* are:

ai- to say	*a'im·ıA* always says, is in habit of saying
NA'cï'mʷïa- to forget	*NA'cï'mʷïamı(y)a·q·A* keeps forgetting it
aro'a- to be	*aro''amiA* always is, is wont to be
tï'qa- to eat	*tï'qa'mı(y)a'amï* they 2 are wont to eat
qan·ıχai- to house-have, dwell	*qan·ı'χaim·ıa'mï* they 2 always live

Examples of *-m·i-ⁿ* are:

ını- to do	*ını'm·ımpa·n·ıanI* I shall always do so
avi- to lie down	*avi'm·ımpatcï* having always been wont to lie down (apparently stresses duration of wonted act more than regular usitative participle *avi'vatcï* wont to lie down, § 25, 6, c)
tuᶻqwı''ai- to be ashamed	*tuᶻqwı''aimıntï* always being ashamed

tv·^{u}'ai- to reject (a suitor)	*tv·'^{u}'aim·intï* always rejecting a suitor
pitcï- to arrive	*pi'tcïm·iŋkˀa'* while wont to return
ts·piŋu- to go out	*ts·pi'ŋum·iŋq̇uŋ^{WA}* each time that he went out (*-ŋu-m·i-^{n}* momentaneous usitative)
maγa- to give	*maγa'mɪpïγa'* (he) used to give
pa(i)yï- to return	*pa(i)yü'ŋum·ɪp·ïγa'* always returned
nïv^{w}a'tcuγwaq·ɪ- to come to me	*nïv^{w}a'tcuγwaq·ɪmiŋwa'^{a}* never to come to me

Beside usitative preterits in *-m·ip·ïγai-* are used also forms in *-m·inïmpïγai-* (see 11 below); e. g. *yaa'imɪpïγa'* or *yaa'im·inïmpïγa'* USED TO HUNT. It is not obvious what difference in meaning, if any, there is between usitative participles in *-vatcï-* (§ 25, 6, c) and *-m·intï-*. Curiously enough, participles in *-tï-* may also be made usitative by suffixed *-m·ia-*, e. g.:

quna'q·aχantïmɨ'aq·^{WA} fire-plural-having-usitative-it, those who have it as fire

(11) *-n·ï-^{n}* usitative, used only before past passive participle *-p·ï-* (§ 25, 5, b) and its temporal derivative *-p·ïγai-* (§ 32, 6). Contrary to phonetic rule, not *-n·ïp·ï(γai)-* results, but *-n·ïmpï(γai)-*.

Examples of usitative passive participial *-n·ïmpï-* are:

pïnɪ''nu'ɪnïmpï^{A} (things) always seen about (obj.)
ma'in'ɪŋunïmpïq̇·wanɪ my always saying it (song form)

The common use of *-n·ïmpï-* as a means of forming instrumental nouns has been already discussed (§ 25, 2).

Examples of *-n·ïmpïγai-*, the usitative form of the narrative past, are:

ɥnɪ- to do	*ɥnɪ'nïmpïγa'* kept doing
uru'a- to be	*uru''an·ïmpïγa'* always was
qarï- to sit, dwell	*qarï'nïmpïγa'* was living, dwelt (right along)
ɔra- to dig	*ɔra'n·ïmpïγa'* used to dig

The suffix may be preceded, as we have already seen, by the common usitative suffix *-m·i-* (see 10 above). Examples of the combined *-m·inïmpïγai-* are:

kwɪ'pa- to throw	*kwɪ'pa'minïmpïγa'* always threw
ai- to say	*a'iminïmpïγa'* always kept saying
aiŋu- to say (momentaneously)	*a'iŋum·inïmpïγa'* said each time

There is little, if any, perceptible difference in usage between the forms *-m·ip·ïγai-*, *-nïmpïγai-* and *-m·inïmpïγai-*. It may be pointed out, however, that *-nïmpïγai-* does not seem to occur after momentaneous *-ŋu-*, which requires a following *-m·i-*. This may imply that the *-nï-*^{n} usitative tends to have a more strictly durative character than *-m·i-*^{n}, which in turn may have a momentaneous -iterative color.

(12) *-n'ni-*^{s} (*-ni'i-*^{s}) continuative. This is a common durative suffix that, with verbs of movement, shades into a significance not very different from that of *-m'mia-* (§ 28, 4). It seems best defined as a continuative, equivalent in meaning to such English locutions as TO KEEP -ING, TO BE -ING. It refers to an act consummated at one period, not, like the usitative, to one which is repeated at intervals. Examples are:

nɔntsɪ- to fly	*nɔntsɪ'n'nɪ'* flies around
qa·- to sing	*qa·'n·'ɪ'* sings along, sings while walking
ki(y)ɛ- to laugh	*ki(y)ɛ'n'nɪ'* is laughing
tsip·i- to ride	*ts·pi'n·'i'* is riding around
an·i- to do	*i(y)ɛ'nuan 'anɪ'n'nɪ'* here-I do-continuative, here I am; *'an·i'-n'nintcï* one who keeps doing
pïni- to look	*pïni'n'nɪp·ïγa'* kept on looking
moi- to lead	*moi'n'nip·ïγai(y)aŋʌ* he led around; *moi'n'niχwa'*^{a} go lead around!
qara'xa- (there is) noise of rawhide	*qara'xan·i'iyïn·ɪ'* (it) makes a noise as of rawhide

Another form of this suffix is *-n·i·-*^{s} or, with preceding glottal stop, *-' . . .n·i·-*^{s}. These elements seem to differ from the more common *-n'ni-*, partly in reinforcing the idea of plurality or distribution of the subject, partly in conveying a usitative implication. The matter is not altogether clear, however. Examples are:

anɪk·a- several do	*anɪ'k·ani·^{i}χa'* while (they) do so

i'i'n·i- to do like this

i'i'n·ini·^{i}vä'campani(·^{i})χa'^{a} this-do-continuative-future-just-me-then! let me just keep doing like this (regularly)!

ïmpïn'i- to be resting raised on (something)

ïmpï'n'ini·^{i}ntcï being (permanently) raised on (something)

nampïni- to look for tracks

nampï'n'ini·^{i}χa' while looking for tracks

ɔ'tca'nɔ·ntsɪ- to carry (diminutively, § 35) a water-jar

ɔ'tca'n'ɔ·ntɳni·^{i}vä' shall always be carrying a water-jar

(13) *-mï·-* (*-mï-*) ALREADY, AFTER. This suffix indicates that the activity predicated by the verb stem has already been attained and is thus either past (if momentaneous) or in progress (if durative). Examples are:

tï'qa- to eat

tï'qa'm·ï·yïaŋ 'ɔai' he is eating already (for *'ɔai'* see § 60, 3)

pitcï- to arrive

pɪtcɪ'mïntca·ŋ 'ɔai' he has already arrived

ɳniɻ·a- several do

ɳnï'ɻ·aŋum·ï·q·a·mï after they had all done so

qʊ'tsɪ'k·ɪɻaŋu- all burn (momentaneous)

qʊ'tsɪ'k·ɪɻaŋumï'tsinɪ after having (plur. subj.) burned me

§ 31. Suffixes of number.

Number is expressed in the verb in four different ways: 1, by reduplication, properly a distributive formation but frequently expressing plurality of subject or subject (see § 58, 3); 2, by the use of distinctive stems for the singular and plural, a few of the plural stems being used only as second members of verb + verb compounds (see § 54); 3, by the use of suffixes indicating plurality of the subject or, less commonly, of the object; 4, by the use of suffixes expressing ideas of number and voice (transitiveness and intransitiveness) at the same time. Only the last two processes are here discussed.

Even aside from pronominal elements, it is always possible to tell from the form of a verb whether its animate subject is singular or plural, often, also, whether its object is singular or plural. Verbs with a dual subject are singular in form, but are differentiated in practice from singulars by their employment of plural (or, in two cases, distinctively dual) pronominal elements (§ 40). Thus,

qari'yïaŋA HE SITS, *qari'yïamï̈* THEY 2 SIT, *yuγwɪ'yïamï̈* THEY (MORE THAN 2) SIT; *ivi'yïnI* I DRINK, *ivi'yïnïm(ʷ)I* WE 2 (EXCLUSIVE) DRINK, *ivi'k̲·ayïnïm(ʷ)I* WE (MORE THAN 2, EXCLUSIVE) DRINK.

(1) SUFFIXES INDICATING PLURALITY.

(a) *-'ŋwa-* plural subject. This element occurs very rarely, e. g.:

ts·tsɪ'p·i- one keeps coming out (§ 58, 4, c)

ts·tsɪ'p̣·ɪŋwaŋU many come out (momentaneous)

(b) *-t·ï-* plural object. This element also is very uncommon. It occurs, e. g., in:

qïni'vuχwɪy'ïq·WA (he) nibbles at it

qïni'vuχwɪt·ïy'ïq·WA (he) nibbles at them

(c) *-q·a-*^{s} animate plural subject. This is the typical suffix for the formation of verbs with animate plural subject. Examples of its use are:

cu(w)a'p·itci- to wake up

cu(w)a'p·itciq·A several wake up

qa·- to sing

qa·'q·a(i)yïamï̈ they sing

taŋa- to kick

taŋa't·ï·q·atcaraŋwA we were all kicked

ai- to say

a'ik·ᶻApïγa' (they) said

ivi'tcï one drinking

ivi'k̲·arïmï̈ those drinking

ɥɪ- to do so

ɥɪ'k̲·aγuc·uamï̈ after they were doing so; *ɥɪ'k̲·aŋumï̈ⁱts·* after (they) had done so

nana'ruγwa(i)yïaq·A (they 2) give it to each other

nana'ruγwɑq·a(i)yïaq·A (they) give it to each other

MUˣqwi'χava(i)yï- to return from calling on

MUˣqwi'χavaIᶻk̲ap·ïγa'aiŋwA (they) returned from calling on him

NUˣqwi'ŋqw'aip·ïγa' ran along

NUˣqwi'k̲·aχwa'aip·ïγa' several ran along

naiɑŋwɪŋqï- to play the hand-game with

naiɑ'ŋwɪŋqïq·anïmI (for several) to play the hand-game with us

For the use of plural *-q·a-* in noun forms see § 48, 2.

(2) SUFFIXES INDICATING VOICE AND NUMBER.

(a) *-tcai-* plural (or distributive) intransitive (medio-passive). It is frequently added to distributive *-γi-* (§ 30, 2) or replaces singular

momentaneous *-q·i-* (§ 30, 3). The form of the stem is regularly durative, i. e. with ungeminated consonant. For a change of the singular vowel to *-i-* in the plural, see § 53, 1, b. Examples are:

yauq·wi-, yauq·wa- one enters, goes into (e. g. flesh); sun sets	*ya'uγwɪtcai-* several go into
qʌ'pa'-q·i- one (thing) stops	*qavɪ'tcai-* several stop
paγa'-q·(ɛ)i- (it) tears (slowly); *pʌ'qa'-q·i-* (it) tears (at once)	*paγ(a')itcai-* several articles tear (intr.), (clothes, hat, moccasins) are torn in several places, are worn out; *paγ(a')itcaiŋu-* (clothes) wear out
ɔ'pa'q·ɪ-tcï having a hole (lit., hole-ripping)	*ɔv^{w}a'xɪtcaitcï* having holes (lit., hole-rip-several-participle)
qɔvɔ'-q·wi- (it) breaks (slowly); *qɔ'pɔ'-q·wi-* (it) breaks (at once)	*qɔvɪ'tcai-* several break; *qɔvɪ'tcai-p·ï* broken (arrows)
tɔ'pa'-q·i- one (tooth, tree) comes loose	*tɔvɪ'tcai-* several come loose
tï'pa'-q·i- one emerges	*tïv^{w}ɪ'tcaiŋu-* several emerge, come out (momentaneously)
tʊ'pa'-q·i- one pulls out, comes through	*tuv^{w}a'x(a)itcaiŋu-* several pull out
-qap·i-n'na- to cut (trans.) in one cut; *-qavi-n·a-* to cut (trans.) duratively (for *-n'na-*, *-n·a-* see b below)	*qavɪ'tcaiŋu-* several (bows) snap
yɪ'a'q·a·- one goes in	*yɪ'a'χɪtcaiŋu-* several go in
(*ïrï'q·ɪ-tcï* ledge)	*tavɪ'-ïrïγɪ-tcaai* there are spots of sunlight (poetic)

Observe that the momentaneous form of *-tcai-* is *tcai-ŋu-*.

(b) *-n·a-* durative transitive with singular (chiefly inanimate) object.

(c) *-n'na-* momentaneous transitive with singular (chiefly inanimate) object.

(d) *-tca-* transitive with plural (chiefly inanimate) object; also used as transitive distributive.

These three elements are best treated together. *-n·a-* may be considered the transitive (inanimate) correspondent of *-γi-* (§ 30, 2); *-n'na-* of *-q·i-* (§ 30, 3); *-tca-* of *-tcai-* (a above), with which it is evi-

dently connected (like *-tcai-*, *-tca-* is regularly accompanied by durative consonantism in the stem). Examples are:

ts·ɬ̂a'p·in'NA to cut in one cut: *ts·ɬ̂a'vina-* to cut (one object): *ts·ɬ̂a'-vitca-* to cut several objects

qï'qo'i'nai' takes off (momentaneously) with the teeth: *tcAˣqo'inai'* takes off one article of clothing: *tcAˣqo'itcai'* takes off several articles of clothing

tA'qɔ'p·in'NA to break an object by stepping on (cf. *qɔ'pɔ'-q·wi-* to break, intr.)

tɔ'to'p·in'NA to pull out one (cf. *tU'pa'q·i-* one object pulls out): *tɔ'to'vɪtca-* to pull out several objects

wï'pa'q·ɪn'NA to rip open (cf. *pA'qa'-q·i-* to tear intr.): *tɔ'pa'γɪtca-* to rip open in several places, *tcA'pa'γ(a)itca-* to tear (one) to pieces

mantcu'q·win'NA to crush (an object) all at once: *mantcu'γwina-* to crush (an object)

s·kɪ'n'nai' turns (his) head to one side

narɪ'tsɪn'ai' joins (one object to another)

wi'(y)α'ŋqï·n'a- to cut notches into (a piece of wood), to make a rasp

ts·qwï'rɪ'na- to rake out one with a stick: *ts·qwï'ritca-* to rake out several (animals or plants) with a stick

tsɪya'Uqwa- to push one in with a point: *tsɪya'uχwɪtca-* to push many in with a point

A number of verbs in *-n'na-* are formed from noun and adjective-verb stems to express the idea of LAYING ON, PAINTING, e. g.:

aŋqa- to be red	*aŋqa'n'NA'pïγa'aik·wA* (he) painted it (primarily, but not necessarily, red)
saγwa- to be blue	*saγwa'n'nai'* paints (it) blue
san·a- gum	*san·a'n'nai'* smears on gum

§ 32. Temporal suffixes.

Not all verbs have a definite temporal form. The use of absolute or tenseless verb forms is discussed in § 51, 2. Besides the temporal suffixes here discussed, two of the enclitic elements express temporal relations (§ 19, 1).

(1) *-yï-* present tense. The great majority of verbs express a specific reference to present time by means of this suffix. Examples are:

qa·- to sing	*qa·i‘* sings (< *qa·yi-*); *qa·'yïamï* they 2 sing; *qa·'yïcampanɪ* even though I sing
tï‘qa- to eat	*tï‘qa'(i)yïnɪ* I eat
aiyaru- to make a turtle	*aiya'ruyunɪ* I make a turtle (< *-ruyï-*)
ivi- to drink	*ivi'yïro'ª* dost thou drink?
pʊ‘tcu'tcuγwa- to know	*pʊ‘tcu'tcuγwa'yïq·wA* knows it

(2) *-q·a-* present and past tense. A number of verbs, some of them of extremely common occurrence, are used not with *-yï-*, but with *-q·a-*, which refers indifferently to present or past time. Perhaps the *-q·a-* forms are best considered as the equivalents of tenseless absolutes in other verbs. These verbs are *ai-* TO SAY, *an·ia-* TO SAY WHAT?, verbs of doing in *-n·i-* (§ 26, 2, b; § 43, 3), and diminutive verbs in *-(n)tsɪ-* (§ 35, 2). Examples are:

ai- to say	*'anï'ɑn 'a'ik·ᶻA* what-I said?; *ta·'mpinia·ŋ a'ik·ᶻA* tired-of-what-he says; *qatc a'iḵ·anɪ* not I-said; *a'ik·ᶻAcampan·ianɪ* say-only-like-I, I think so
an·ia- (to say) what?	*nï' anɪ'Aᶻqanɪ‘* I say-what?-like, what do I care?; *anɪ'Aᶻ-qa' nïru'x·wA* say-what?-thou me-to, what did you say to me?
an·i- to do so, be so	*ma'iχain ani'k·ᶻA* so-saying-I so-do, I do as I say; *na'a'int ur anɪ'k·ᶻA* burning it does-so, it is something burning
un·i- to do so, be so	*ɪmp ʉnɪ'k·ᶻA nu'yu'xaxa‘* what does-so moving? what is it that moves?
aγan·i- to do what? to act how?	*aγa'n·ɪᶻḵa·ŋA* what did he do?
qa·tsɪ- to sing (diminutive subject)	*qa·'ts·ḵa·ŋA* a little fellow is singing
yaγaγarï- to sit and cry	*yaγa(·)'γarïtsɪk·ᶻA* is sitting and crying, poor fellow

That this *-q·a-* is often equivalent to *-yï-* is shown clearly in such a sentence as *nï' nam·ï'xanintcu(i)yï, murï'A sa'ai‘, tïᶻqa'(i)'yïq·wA, ʉnɪts a'iḵ· ʉmɪu'rux·wA tïγɪ'aŋwïA* I FIRST-HOUSE-BUILD, BEANS BOIL, EAT-THEM, THEN SAY TO-THEM DEER.

(3) *-q·ai-* perfective. This suffix is very frequently employed as a preterital element, its main point of difference from enclitic *-(n)tca-* and *-γwa-* (§ 19, 1) being its emphasis on the idea of completion. Examples are:

ʌ'pï'i- to sleep	*ʌ'pï'ɪk̲ai(y)aŋʌ* he slept, has been asleep
ivi'c·uaŋʊtï·- (water) is drunk up	*ivi'c·uaŋʊtïï^{x}qa'* (water) has been drunk up
na'a'it·ʊ'p^{w}ik·u- to burn up	*na'a'it·ʊ'p^{w}ik·ʊqwa'* (it) has burnt up
aχa'n·iŋu- to act how (momentaneously)? to have what happen to one?	*aχa'n·ɪŋuq·wai'^{i}* what happened to you?
pʌ^{x}qa'ŋu- to kill	*pʌ^{x}qa'ŋʊqwa'aiŋwα'* maybe you have killed him (*-qwa'ai-* broken from *-q·[w]ai-*)
yaa'iŋqw'ai- to go out hunting	*yaa'iŋqw'aik̲·a'* went out hunting.

Before subordinating *-q·u-* (§55, 1, e), *-q·ai-* appears as *-q·a·-* (cf. § 26, 1, a and b; § 30, 9); e. g. *yaa'iŋqw'aik̲·a·q·oaŋʌ* AFTER HE HAD GONE OUT HUNTING. For perfective participial *-q·antï-*, see § 25, 6, d. Though perfectly analogous in treatment to resultative *-q·ai-* (§ 30, 9) and perhaps etymologically related to it, it is in practice felt as a distinct element, as shown by the occurrence of *-q·aik̲·ai-* resultative-perfective, e. g.:

tɔγɔ'tsiȧt·ui- to cause to cover over on top	*tɔγɔ'tsiȧt·uk̲·aik̲·a'* had (evidently) been caused to cover over on top

The perfective idea frequently takes on an inferential implication. An explicit inferential present-perfect (HAS EVIDENTLY -ED) is formed by combining perfective *-q·ai-* with present *-yï-*: *-q·aiyï-*. In general it seems that perfective *-q·ai-* regularly implies lack of direct knowledge on the part of the speaker, differing in this respect from enclitic *-(n)tca-* (§ 19, 1, a). Examples of inferential *-q·ai(yï)-* are:

ivi- to drink	*ivi'k̲·aip·ɪ* what was evidently drunk (by someone)
qa·q·a- several sing	*qa·'q·ʌqaiyïamï* maybe they *did* sing

qa·χw'ai to go to sing

qa·'χw'aiɬ̠·aiɣïaŋA he has evidently gone to sing (known from inferential evidence)

A'pï'iva(i)yi- to come back from sleeping, to have been sleeping (§ 18, 1, a)

A'pï'ivaiᶻɬ̠ai(y)aŋA he has evidently been sleeping

(4) *-va·-ⁿ*, *-mpa·-ⁿ* future, intentive. In ordinary indicative forms this element generally adds an intentive or hortatory force to its fundamental future significance (contrast *-va·n·ia-*, *-mpa·n·ia-* below, 5). In other forms, such as gerunds in *-tsɪ-* (§ 55, 1, a) and participles (§ 25, 6, b), it seems to indicate mere futurity. It is used also in simple future statements that are conditional on other acts. Examples of *-va·-ⁿ* are:

qa·- to sing

qa·'va·nɪ I'll sing; *qa·'va·ŋA* he'll sing, let him sing!

pɨɲɪ'ɬ̠·ai- to see

pɨɲɪ'ɬ̠·aiva·ŋanɪ I'll see him, let me see him!

ɥɲɪ'ɬ·ua- some one does

ɥɲɪ'ɬ·uava·q·A let someone do it!

tï'qa- to eat

tï'qa'va·p·ɪ what will (always) be eaten

patcaq·wa·- to get wet

patca'q·wa·ᵃva' (if it rains, he) will get wet

tɔγɔq·wi- to run

tɔγɔ'q·wɪva' (if I hit him, he) will run

yaya'xa- to burst into tears

inɨ't·uγwa'ᵃ yaya'xava·n uru'ac·U this-away-thou cry (momentaneous, § 58, 5, c)-will-I else (§ 60, 3); go away or I'll cry

Examples of *-mpa·-ⁿ* are:

pA'qa'ŋu-ⁿ to kill

pAᶻqq'umṗa·ŋwa'ᵃ you'll kill him; *pAᶻqa'ŋumpa·p·ɪ* who will be killed

aiŋu-ⁿ to say (momentaneously)

a'iŋumpaAcunɪ let me say again!

ɔvaq·aŋu-ⁿ several pull out

ɔva'q·aŋ·umpa·c·U (let us) pull (them) out again

These suffixes may be combined with narrative past *-p·ïγai-* (6 below) or dubitative *-vï·-*, *-mpï·-* (see § 33, 2). The former, *-va·p·ïγai-* (*-mpa·p·ïγai-*), indicates an act in the past looking towards the future. Examples are:

qʊ'qwɪ- to shoot	*qʊ'qwɪ'va·p·ïγain'nɪ'aŋwA* shoot-will-past-like-him, (acted) as though about to shoot him
pAᶻqa'ŋu-ⁿ to kill	*pAᶻqa'ŋumpa·mpï·(ʏ)aŋA* maybe (he) will kill him

(5) *-va·n·ia-*, *-mpa·n·ia-* future indicative. In contrast to *-va·-ⁿ* (*-mpa·-ⁿ*), from which it is evidently derived, this suffix indicates the simple future. Examples of *-va·n·ia-* are:

taŋa- to kick	*taŋa'va·n·ɪ'* will kick
maai- to find	*impï'an maa'ivä·n·ɪ'* what-I find shall? what shall I find?

Of *-mpa·n·ia-*:

pA'qa'ŋu-ⁿ to kill	*pA'qa'ŋumpa·n·ɪ'amɪ* I'll kill you
ɥnɪm·ɪ-ⁿ to be wont to do	*ɥnɪ'm·ɪmpa·n·ɪanɪ* I shall always do
'ï'ʏʊp̣a·- to go through here	*'ï'ʏʊp̣a·mpa·n·ɪ'* he will go through here
yɔɔ'iχa- to move, flutter	*yɔɔ'iχampa·n·ɪ'* (it)will move

(6) *-p·ïγai-* remote past, narrative past. This is the element regularly employed in mythical narrative. Narrative referring to a relatively recent past makes use of enclitic *-γwa-* (§ 19, 1, b). Without doubt *-p·ïγai-* is compounded of past passive participial *-p·ï-* (§ 25, 5, b) and verbalizing *-γai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). This is shown partly by the fact that *-p·ïγai-* is treated analogously to *-γai-* (e. g. participial *-p·ïγantï-*, § 25, 6, e; negative *-p·ï'ai-*, § 57, 2, c), partly by the fact that *-p·ï-* and *-γai-* may become disconnected (e. g. *-p·ï-a-γai-*, see 8 below, diminutive *-p·ï-tsɪ-χai-*). Hence a form like *a'ip·ïγa'* SAID is to be analyzed as SAY-PAST PASSIVE PARTIC.-HAVE, HAS SAID. In other words, Paiute *-p·ïγai-* forms are formally the synthetic analogues of English perfects; the functions do not quite correspond in the two languages, however.

Examples of *-p·ïγai-* are:

qarï- to sit, dwell	*qarï'p·ïγa'* sat, dwelt, *qarï'p·ï-γ'aimï* they 2 dwelt
tɔna- to strike	*tɔna'p·ïγainɪ* struck me (long ago)
qanɪχai- to have a house	*nï' qanɪ'χaip·ïγa'* I had a house

pA'qa'ŋʊtï·- to be killed

pA'qa'ŋʊtï'pïγaiχv·aŋaχa' 'ɔqi' kill-passive-past-irrealis-he-then! (§ 19, 2, b), I wish he had been killed

It may be combined with a preceding inferential perfective *-q·ai-*, e. g.

ya'ai- to die

ya'a'iḵ·aip·ïγaitcɔaŋaxain·ɪ' die-perfective-past-interrogative-he-indeed, he seems to have (evidently) died (long ago)

Examples of diminutive *-p·ïtsɪγai-* are:

qa·- to sing
qa·'p·ïtsɪχa' a little fellow sang

wan·aru- to make a rabbit-net
wan·a'RUpïtsɪγaic·U (the boy) made a rabbit-net again

For *-mpïγai-* after usitative *-n·ï-ⁿ*, see § 30, 11. Rarely *-mpïγai-* is found as sporadic variant instead of *-p·ïγai-*; e. g. *ɔ'a'x·avatcuγwam-pïγa'* WENT RIGHT INTO IT.

(7) *-p·ïayï-* HAS BEEN -ED. This passive narrative past is evidently compounded of past passive participial *-p·ï-* (§ 25, 5, b), possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a), and present *-yï-* (1 above). TO HAVE BEEN KILLED (BY ONE), therefore, as expressed by *-p·ïayï-*, seems literally to mean TO BE ONE'S KILLED ONE. It seems to differ from the normal passive narrative past (*-t·ï·p·ïγai-*) in more definitely implying an agent and perhaps also in referring to a continued state in the present. Examples are:

pAˣqa'ŋu- to kill

pAˣqa'ŋʊpïai' was killed (long ago by people and is now dead)

qwïγwïï- several take (one person)

qwïγï'x·pïa(i)yïaŋA he was taken (long ago by them and is there now)

(8) *-p·ï(a)γait·uayï-* impersonal narrative past. Forms of this sort, compounded of narrative past *-p·ïγai-*, impersonal *-t·ua-*, and present *-yï-*, have been already referred to (§ 29, 14). What difference there is between the *-p·ïγai-* and the *-p·ïaγai-* forms with possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a) is not clear. As for the use of the present *-yï-*, it is very likely that the *-γai-* of *-p·ïγai-*, when final, is to be understood as

including a reference to present time (cf. lack of *-yï-* after *-γai-* TO HAVE, § 26, 1, b, which implicitly refers to present time) and that this implied *-yï-* needs to be expressed after an inserted *-t·ua-*. In other words, *-γai-* and *-γai-yï-* have fallen together to *-γai-*, but *-γait·uayï-* remains as such. Examples are:

pAˣqa'ŋu- to kill	*pA'qa'p·ïγaɪ'tua(i)yïaŋA* people (impers.) have him killed, he was killed (some time ago); *puŋqu'A pAˣqa'ŋUpïaγaɪ'tuai'* horse (obj.) they (impers.)-killed
qam·ï'χanɪχai- to have a jack-rabbit camp	*qam·ï'χanɪχaip·ïγaɪ'tuai'* they (impers.) had a camp for hunting jack-rabbits
qU'tcu'mpuŋquŋwïγai- buffalo-pet-animate plur.-have, to have cattle	*qU'tcu'mpuŋquŋwïγaɪpïaγaɪ'tuai'* people (impers.) had cattle

§ 33. Modal suffixes.

There are only two specifically modal verb suffixes. Most modal ideas, as we have seen, are expressed by the aid of enclitics (§ 19, 2). The indicative has no special modal suffix; for the imperative, see § 52. For perfective *-q·ai-* as inferential, see § 32, 3.

(1) *-γv·-*, (*-q·v·-*,) *-ŋqv·-* irrealis. This element indicates that the activity expressed by the verb is unreal, i. e. either merely potential or contrary to fact (potential in past time). In the latter case it is preceded by perfective *-q·ai-* (§ 32, 3) or narrative past *-p·ïγai-* (§ 32, 6). It is not used with present *-yï-* nor, it would seem, with future *-va·-n*, *-mpa·-n*. Optative examples (WOULD THAT . . . .!) involving enclitic *-γa'* followed by *'ɔai'* have been already given (§ 19, 2, b). Further examples of the irrealis are:

paγᵉi'k·wᵒ 'aiχv·aŋaχa' 'ɔai' go-away-irrealis-he-then! he ought to go away!

nï' naŋa'i'aiḵ·a·ŋA yaya'x·Aqaiχu' I anger-die-if-he cry (momentaneous) -perfective- irrealis; had he got angry, I would have cried

pAˣqą'UpïγaiχU'uŋWA would have killed him

uŋwa'ŋuq·v·'q·waχa' 'ɔai' would that it might rain! (*-q·v·-* perhaps dissimilated from *-ŋqv·*)

ᵃ'a'iyuŋqv·n·ɪχa' 'ɔai' would that I might get well!

The irrealis may be participialized by means of *-p·ï-*. Participial *-kv·p·ï-* is frequently used as a base in optative forms with enclitic *-c·uyaγwa . . . n·oa-* (§ 19, 2, h). Other examples of its use are:

'a'iyuχv·p· ur uru''ai‘ good-would-participle it is, it would be good (somewhat as though one were to say HE IS A POSSIBLE SINGER instead of HE WOULD SING)

uru''aχu‘ sv·''aiyuχv·p·ï be-would very-good-would-participle, (it) would be extremely good

piŋwa'roŋoq·o·p·ïnɪ (*-q·o-* < *-ŋqo·-*?) my would-be-made-as-wife, I would take her as my wife (song form)

A past participial irrealis, *-kv·p·ïγantï-*, is also found, e. g.: *pᴀˣqą'-uŋqvuˣpïγɑntïnɪ* who would have killed me

(2) *-vï·-*, *-mpï·-* dubitative. The dubitative verb suffix is frequently accompanied in the same or a preceding word by an enclitic *-'* (§ 19, 2, n). It may be rendered as PERHAPS, IT MAY (MIGHT) BE THAT . . . Future dubitatives in *-va·mpï·-* (*-mpa·mpï·-*) are common but, so far as known, the dubitative suffix is not employed with other tense suffixes. Examples of *-vï·-*, *-mpï·-* are:

ivi'vï‘ maybe (he) is drinking; *ivi'vï·'ɪ* maybe thou art drinking (didst drink); *ivi'ɬ·avï·ɪraŋwa'ᵃ* maybe we did drink

an·ɪ'aχwɑn a'ivï‘ qa·'γa‘ what-preterit-I say-perhaps sing- subordinate? how did I sing (long ago)?

ya'a'ivï·ŋwa'ᵃ maybe he is dead, he must be dead

aŋ aro''avï i'ŋᴀ who is-dubitative this? I wonder who this is!

pa'x·ɪqw°'aiɬ·ant uru''avï‘ having-gone-away might-be, I wonder if (he) went away

ivi'ŋumpï·'ɪ maybe you did drink

pᴀˣqa'ŋumpa·mpï·(ɣ)aŋᴀ maybe (he) will kill him

maa'iva·mpï·ŋwarami'ⁱ he might find us 2 (inclusive)

qwa·'ŋʊtuava·mpïnɪ they (impers.) will perhaps beat me, it seems I shall get beaten

§ 34. Order of verbal elements.

At this point we may conveniently take up the question of the order in which occur the various elements that build up a verb form. Four main positions are to be recognized: prefix, verbal theme, suffix (prevailingly formal in character), and enclitic. Each of these positions may consist of more than one element. On the other

hand, only the second position is necessarily filled, though ordinarily one or more elements of the third position follow. The order of elements within each of the four fundamental positions is, for the most part, rigorously determined. Fifteen positions may be recognized within the third, though, needless to say, only a limited number of combinations among these are intrinsically possible. The following scheme will be useful for reference (the letters and numbers indicate order of position):

A. Prefix
1. Adverbial prefix (§ 20)
2. Reflexive prefix (§ 22)
3. Instrumental prefix (§ 21)

B. Verbal theme
1. (a) Verb stem (*or* other stem if followed by B 2); *or* (b) combination of stems, last of which is necessarily verbal (unless B 2 follows) (§ 18, 2)[1]
2. Verbalizing suffix (§ 26)

C. Suffix
1. Suffixes of voice and aspect: *-γa-* (§ 30, 1); *-γi-* (§ 30, 2); *-q·i-* (§ 30, 3); *-n'na-* (§ 31, 2, c); *-n·a-* (§ 31, 2, b); *-tca-* (§ 31, 2, d)
2. *-tcai-* (§ 31, 2, a)
3. Causative *-t·ui-* (§ 29, 12)
4. Indirective (or transitivizing) *-ŋqï-* (§ 29, 11)
5. Pluralizing suffixes: *-q·a-* (§ 31, 1, c); *-'ŋwa-* (§ 31, 1, a); *-t·ï-* (§ 31, 1, b)
6. Suffixes of movement (§ 28); continuative *-n'ni-* (§ 30, 12)
7. Momentaneous suffixes: *-ŋu-* (§ 30, 5); *-q·u-* (§ 30, 7)
8. Resultative *-q·ai-* (§ 30, 9); passive *-t·ï·-* (§ 29, 13)
9. Perfective *-q·ai-* (§ 32, 3); usitative *-m·ia-*, *-m·i-^{n}* (§ 30, 10); *-m·ï·-* (§ 30, 13). *-m·i-^{n}* precedes *-q·ai-*.
10. Future *-pa·-* (§ 32, 4), *-pa·n·ia* (§ 32, 5; *-n·ia-* probably best considered as belonging to position 14)

[1] A 2 (*or* A 3) + B 1 (a) + B 2 may, however, be taken as unit and compounded with preceding (non-verbal) or following (verbal) stem. Indeed, this extended verbal "theme" may also include elements (chiefly 1–4) belonging to position C. It is difficult to give rules, as composition takes place whenever two or more elements or groups of elements are felt as logically combinable or psychologically equivalent. Composition thus somewhat breaks in on our order scheme.

11. Usitative *-n·ï-*^{n} (§ 30, 11)
12. Narrative past *-p·ïγai-* (§ 32, 6), which may be split into its component elements by possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a) or diminutive *-tsɪ-* (§ 35)
13. Impersonal *-t·ua-* (§ 29, 14)
14. Tense and modal elements: present *-yï-* (§ 32, 1); present *-q·a-* (§ 32, 2); modal *-kv·-* (§ 33, 1); dubitative *-pï·-* (§ 33, 2)
15. Syntactic elements, embracing:
    (a) Nominalizing suffixes (§ 25); *or*
    (b) Subordinating suffixes (§ 55, 1)

D. Enclitic, occurring in nine positions, one of which, no. 7, may in turn be subdivided into three positions (see § 19, 4; § 41, 1 and 4)

There is some doubt as to the priority of certain positions in C; thus, it may be that 10 and 11 should be reversed or, as probably mutually exclusive elements, grouped together. Aside from doubts of this sort, there are a number of disturbances of the above scheme introduced by the impersonal *-t·ua-* and the passive *-t·ï·-*. First of all, when *-t·ua-* is used as indirect object of indirective *-ŋqï-*, it follows position 4 and precedes position 5 (see § 29, 14). Secondly, *-t·ua-* regularly precedes future *-pa·-(n·ia-)* (position 10), yet follows position 12. Thirdly, the position of pluralizing *-q·a-* (no. 5), which regularly precedes e. g. momentaneous *-ŋu-* (position 7), is disturbed in impersonal and passive forms. In these cases it falls between positions 8 and 9, i. e. it follows passive *-t·ï·-* but precedes perfective *-q·ai-* and impersonal *-t·ua-*. Thus, with normal *ivi'ɣ·aŋuyï-* SEVERAL TAKE A DRINK, contrast *pA*^{z}*qa'ŋUtïïqaq·ai-* SEVERAL HAVE BEEN KILLED and *tïv*^{w}*i'ŋuq(w)at·u'ayï-* THEY (PLUR. IMPERS.) ASK. Lastly, impersonal *-t·ua-* follows subordinating *-ku-* (see § 55, 1, e) in spite of the fact that subordinating suffixes (C, 15, b) regularly follow all other verbal suffixes.

It will not be necessary here to give examples testing out the order scheme, as they can be readily found by the reader among the numerous verb forms scattered in this paper. The positions assumed by diminutive *-tsɪ-*, which seems to be treated rather irregularly, will be referred to in § 35, 2.

§ 35. *The diminutive.*

The diminutive suffix *-tsɪ-*^{s}, evidently an old Uto-Aztekan element (cf. Nahuatl *-tzin-*), is found in both noun and verb forms. It

seems to appear in three forms: *-tsɪ-ˢ*, *-t·sɪ-ˢ*, and *-ntsɪ-ˢ*, the last of these appearing both as nasalized form of "spirantal" *-tsɪ-* and after nasalizing stems.

(1) In noun forms. Examples of a properly diminutive use in nouns of this suffix are very common, e. g.:

qwa(·)n·a'nts· eagle	*qwa(·)na'tsɪts·* chicken hawk (lit., little eagle)
aŋi'ɸɪ mosquito	*aŋi'vits·* flea (lit., little mosquito)
iyɔ'vɪtcua- young of mourning-dove	*iyɔ'vɪtcuʌtsɪŋwï* little mourning-doves
o·- arrow	*v·'ts·* little arrow
tɔ'ca'p·a(i)ya·-γantï- white-breast-having	*tɔ'ca'p·a(i)ya·tsɪγantï-* little white breasted one, gull
(*pis·'ɔa-*)	*pis·'ɔ'atsɪŋwï* children, *pis·'ɔ'atsɪ-ŋwïnɪ* my children
tü'mp(ʷ)ɪ stone	*tümpʷi'ts·* small stone
uγwɪ'ɸï grass	*uγwɪ'vïts·* little grass-stalk
tïŋqa'nɪɸï cave	*tïŋqa'nɪvïatsiaɸï* his own little cave (obj.)
(*na'ai-ntsɪ-*)	*na'a'intsɪts·* little girl
mïa·'γantï divide (noun)	*mïa·'ᵃntsɪγantï* little divide
qa'nɪ house	*qani'nts·* little house

Examples of the diminutive in denominating terms other than true nouns (i. e. adjectives and adverbs) are:

tɔvɪ''ɪts· for a short distance
mi(y)a''p·ïts· little
miα''ʌnts· small, tiny
mi(y)ɔ''ⁱtsɪɸʌ at a little distance

The diminutive frequently expresses affection rather than smallness. As such it is frequently used in terms of relationship, e. g.:

pavi'nɪ my older brother	*pavi'tsɪnɪ* my (dear) older brother
patsi'nɪ my older sister	*patsi'tsɪnɪ* my (dear) older sister
qaγu'nɪ my grandmother	*qaγu'tsɪŋwïnɪ* my dear grandmothers
pi(y)a'nɪ my mother	*pi(y)a'tsɪŋwïnɪ* my dear mothers; *navɪ''ᵉtsɪŋwï* mother and child (§ 22, 1)

In reciprocal terms of relationship (e. g. *qunu-* GREAT-GRANDFATHER, MAN'S GREAT-GRANDCHILD) the form with diminutive is regularly used for the younger generation,[1] though it may also be used to refer to the older generation (cf. GRANDMOTHER above). Thus,

qunu'nɪ my great-grandfather	*qunu'tsɪnɪ* my great-grandchild (man speaking)

As regards its position relatively to other noun suffixes, *-tsɪ-* follows all noun suffixes enumerated in § 25, 1 and 2 (e. g. classificatory *-pï-*, possessive *-a-*). It is not clear, however, whether *-(n)tsɪ-tsɪ-* is to be analyzed as absolutive + diminutive or diminutive + absolutive. Such a form as *qwa(·)na'tsɪts·* < *qwa(·)na'-nts·* (see above) suggests the latter analysis, which would correspond to Nahuatl *-tzin-tli*. As to nominalizing elements (§ 25), *-tsɪ* follows passive participial *-p·ï-* (probably also *-p·i-*) and instrumental *-n·ïmpï-* but precedes *-n·a-* and active participial *-tï-* (e. g. *qwɪtcu'v^{w}atsɪtcï* LITTLE KNOLL < *qwɪtcu'v^{w}aRï* KNOLL). Naturally it precedes animate plural *-ŋwï-* (§ 48, 1) and objective *-a-* (§ 49, 1).

(2) IN VERB FORMS. The diminutive is frequently used in verb forms, chiefly to indicate that the person spoken to or of is a child, also to indicate an affectionate or pleading attitude. Examples are:

qa·- to sing	*qa'ts·ḵa·ŋA* a little fellow is singing (for *-ḵ·a-* see § 32, 2); *qa·'tsɪ'^{i}* you, little fellow, sing! *qa·'tsɪva·n·ɪa·ŋA* a little fellow will sing; *qa·'p·ïtsɪχa'* a little fellow sang (< *-p·ï'ya'*)
o·'χwaivätcï wont to have an arrow	*o·'tsɪχaivätcï* dit. (referring to a child)
tïnɪ'aŋqïva'amɪ I shall tell you	*tïnɪ'aŋqïtsɪva'amɪ* dit. (addressed to a child)
qa'yɔ'm'mɪa- to hop along	*qa'yɔ'm'mɪantsɪχa'* while hopping along, poor little fellow
ɔ'tca'n'ɔ·n·i·- to be carrying a water-jar	*ɔ'tca'n'ɔ·ntŋni·^{i}vä'* will be carrying a water-jar, if you please
wan·aru- to make a rabbit-net	*wan·a'RU'pïtsɪχaic·U* again (the boy) made a rabbit-net

[1] See Sapir, *A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 1913, pp. 132–138.

For *-ŋu-ntsɪ-* and *-q·u-ntsɪ-* in a quasi-temporal sense, see § 30, 5 and 7.

The position of the diminutive in verb forms is not altogether easy to assign. It seems normally to fall between positions 9 and 10 of C. Thus, it has been found to follow indirective *-ŋqï-* (position 4), *-m'mia-* (position 6), momentaneous *-ŋu-* and *-q·u-* (position 7), usitative *-m·i-*^{n} (position 10) and present *-q·a-* (position 14). However, it seems to precede continuative *-'ni·-* (position 6). Owing to its regularly following past passive participial *-p·ï-* (see 1 above), it cuts *-p·ïɣai-* (position 12) in two: *-p·ïtsɪɣai-*. Moreover, it seems always to precede *-kai-* TO HAVE (position B 2); see *o·'tsɪɣwaivätcï* above (this may, however, be interpreted to mean WONT TO HAVE A LITTLE ARROW, *o·'tsɪɣwai-* being verbalized from *o·'tsɪ-*; yet cf. *tɔ'ca'p·aiya·tsɪɣantï-*, 1 above, LITTLE ONE WHO HAS A WHITE BREAST, probably not HAVING A LITTLE WHITE BREAST).

§ 36. *Numeral suffixes.*

(1) *-yu-*^{n} cardinal numeral suffix. *-yu* forms may be treated as verbs directly or by adding verbalizing *-ŋqai-* (§ 26, 1); without *-ŋqai-* they are frequently used attributively as true numerals. In objective forms *-yu-* is replaced by *-q·u-* (§ 49, 1). It is not used ordinarily in compounds (§ 18, 1, h), except in the case of *cv·yu-* ANOTHER (see examples below). Examples of *-yu-* are:

cv·'yuc·u nï'ŋwï one man; *cv·'yuc·u tava'mA* one day-at, for one day; *nana'c·v·yuŋqwaiyuc·u* reciprocal (reduplicated)-one-cardinal-verbalizing-subordinating (§ 55, 1, c)-also, being one to one another, one by one; *cv·'yUqwaŋuc·u* several become one

co·'yu another; *cv·'y aŋA* another he, another person; *cv·'y aRï* another it, another thing; *cv·'yUcinaŋwav aŋA* the other coyote (Same stem as *cv·'yu-* ONE above, but without enclitic *-c·u-*.)

waa'iyu nïŋwï'ntsɪŋWï two men; *waa'iyuŋqïŋ'ɥm*^{w}*ïnɪ* two-cardinal-for-momentaneous-they-me, they become two for me

nava'iyu six

Combined with enclitic *-n·ia-* (§ 19, 2, d), *-yu-* is regularly employed in counting, including attributive usage where stress is laid on number as such. *-yu-n·ia-* may be rendered IN NUMBER; in animate forms above one, *-m·ï-* (§ 48, 1) is often inserted between *-yu-* and *-n·ia-*. Examples of *-yu(m·u)n·ia-* are:

cv·'yun·ɪ' one (in counting; note that *-n·ia-* replaces *-c·u-*)

waa'iyumun·ɪ *wɪ'tsɪ'tsɪŋwïaŋA* two-cardinal-animate plur. (§ 48, 1)-like great-grandson-diminutive-animate plur. (§ 48, 1)- her; her great-grandsons, two in number
pa'iyɥnɪ' three (in counting); *paa'iyom·un·ɪ* *a'iɸApïtsɪŋwï* three young men (in number)
ta'ŋ *wA'tcü'ŋwɪyum·un·ɪ'* we four
qan·i'nɪ *man·ɪ'χɪyun·ɪ'* house-my five-cardinal-like, my five houses

(2) *-t·a-*, *-t·ca-* numeral adverbial suffixes. *-t·a-* is suffixed to *cv·-* ONE, *-t·ca-* to all the other numeral stems. These suffixes denote SO AND SO MANY TIMES. Examples are:

cv·'t·ac·U once
waa't·cA twice (< *wa·-* two); *waa·'t·cAcuAᶻqan ɥni'k·ᶻA* two-times-again-it-I did, I did it just twice; *nan·ɪ'ŋwaŋwaAtcatcaAᶻqa'm 'ɥnɪ'k·aŋU* separately-two (reduplicated)-times-preterit-it-they do-plural-momentaneous, they did it each twice
paa'it·cA three times

§ 37. *Suffixes of quasi-pronominal force.*

Under this head are included a couple of suffixed elements that are not easily classified.

(1) *-rï-* (*-tcï-* after *i*) inanimate demonstrative suffix. It is appended to demonstrative stems, also to *qïma-ˢ*, to form independent inanimate demonstrative pronouns, which may be used either substantively or attributively. These pronouns are *arï-* THAT (indefinitely); *marï-* (*mʷa'rï-*) THAT (visible); *urï-*, *uru-* (*'u'rï-*, *'u'ru-*) THAT (invisible); *itcï-* (*'i'tcï-*) THIS; and *qïmarï-* ANOTHER. See § 39, 1. This *-rï-* is possibly identical in origin with participial *-tï-* (§ 25, 6, a).

(2) *-p·a(n)tcï-ⁿ* KINDS OF. So far as known, this element occurs only after *man·ɔ'q·u-* ALL (obj.; see § 59, 3, a), e. g.:

man·ɔ'q·ᶻUpantcï *pa'a'vɪŋw* *amï* all-kinds-of animals they, all kinds of animals

man·ɔ'q·Upa(n)tcï-ⁿ can also be used as the first element of noun compounds, e. g.:

man·ɔ'q·ᶻUpantciŋqava·'ŋwï all kinds of horses
man·ɔ'q·Upatciniŋwïntsɪŋwï all kinds of persons

This suffix is possibly related to participialized postpositive *-vatcï-*^{n}, *-p·atcï-*^{n} BEING AT (§ 50, 1, 37).

PRONOUNS (§ § 38–46).

§ 38. *Classification of pronouns.*

Paiute pronouns may be divided into six classes: personal pronouns (in part of demonstrative force); postnominal pronouns (closely related to personal pronouns but used practically as articles); demonstrative pronouns (in large part identical with independent third personal pronouns); interrogative pronouns; relative pronoun; and reflexive pronouns. All of these occur as independent stems. The personal pronouns also appear in an enclitic form.

The independent personal pronouns are either subjective or objective. The enclitic series, however, makes the distinction only for the second person and for one or two other forms that will be specified later. The objective forms include possessive functions. The classification of pronouns as to person is as follows:

1st person singular
1st person dual (inclusive)
1st person plural (inclusive)
1st person plural (exclusive)
2nd person singular
2nd person plural
3rd person singular animate visible
3rd person singular animate invisible
3rd person plural animate visible
3rd person plural animate invisible
3rd person inanimate visible
3rd person inanimate invisible

It will be observed that the only specifically dual form is that of the 1st person inclusive. Aside from the first person plural inclusive, all the plural pronominal elements include dual functions; the verb, however, in the latter case is singular in form (cf. § 31). The inanimate third person makes no distinction for number; cf. the lack of plural suffixes for inanimate nouns (§ 48). The classification into visible and invisible in the third person applies particularly to the enclitic series. Independent pronouns of the third person are formed from four distinct demonstrative stems, only one of which implies invisibility (see § 39).

Personal pronouns (§ § 39–41).

§ 39. Independent personal pronouns.

The independent personal pronouns are as follows:

	SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
1 sing.	*nï'*, *nï-*	*nïn·ia-*
dual (inclusive)	*tam·i-*	*tam·ia-*
plural (inclusive)	*taŋwa-*	*taŋwaia-*
plural (exclusive)	*nïm·^{w}i-*	*nïm·^{w}ia-*
2 sing.	*im·i-*	*im·ia-*
plural	*m^{w}ïm·^{w}i-*	*m^{w}ïm·^{w}ia-*
3 a sing. anim.	*aŋa-(c·u-)* he, that one (indef.)	*aŋaia-(c·u-)*
plural anim.	*am·ï-*, *am·u-c·u-*	*am·ïa-(c·u-)*
inanimate	*arï-(c·u-)* *aq·a-*	*arïa-(c·u-)* *aq·aia-*
b sing. anim.	*maŋa-(c·u-)*; *m^{w}a'ŋa-* he, that one (visible)	*maŋaia-(c·u-)*
plural anim.	*mam·ï-*, *mam·u-c·u-*	*mam·ïa-(c·u-)*
inanimate	*marï-(c·u-)*; *m^{w}a'rï-* *maq·a-*	*marïa-(c·u-)*; *m^{w}a'rïa-* *maq·aia-*
c sing. anim.	*iŋa-*; *^{v}i'ŋa-* he here, this one	*iŋaia-*
plural anim.	*im·ï-*; *^{v}i'm·ï-*	*im·ïa-*, *^{v}i'm·ïa-*
inanimate	*itcï-*; *^{v}i'tcï-* *iḵ·a-*	*itcïa-*; *^{v}i'tcïa-* *iḵ·aia-*
d sing. anim.	*uŋwa-(c·u-)*; *^{u}'u'ŋwa-* he, that one (invisible)	*uŋwaia-(c·u-)*; *^{u}'u'-ŋwaia-*
plural anim.	*um·^{w}ï-*, *um·u-c·u-*; *^{u}'u'm·^{w}ï-*	*um·^{w}ïa-(c·u-)*; *^{u}'u'-m·^{w}ïa-*
inanimate	*uru-(c·u-)*; *^{u}'u'rï-* *uq·wa-*	*urua-(c·u-)*; *^{u}'u'rïa-* *uq·waia-*

(1) FORMATION OF INDEPENDENT PERSONAL (AND DEMONSTRATIVE) PRONOUNS. The objectives are formed from the subjectives by the suffixing of *-a-* after all vowels but *a*, after which *-ia-*, *-ya-* is sub-

stituted. This is precisely as with nouns (§ 49, 1). The first person singular, however, has a peculiar objective form, *nïn·ia-*, based on an otherwise non-occurring *nïn·i-* instead of *nï-*. Both subjective and objective pronouns spirantize following elements (note that *-r-* becomes *-tc-* after *i*, *-ntc-* after nasal + *i*).

The first person singular is *nï'* or *nï'ɪ* when used absolutely, *nï-* when followed by another element (e. g. postposition or modal enclitic). The two inclusive pronouns are evidently based on a common stem *ta-*, which does not occur uncompounded in Paiute; but cf. Nahuatl *tè* WE, *to-* OUR. The *-m·i-* of *tam·i-* is probably identical with that of *nïm·^{w}i-* WE (EXCLUSIVE) and *m^{w}ïm·^{w}i-* YE; *nï-m·^{w}i-* is probably based on *nï-* I. The inclusive plural *taŋwa-* probably goes back to **tama-* (§ 16, 1), perhaps assimilated from **tamï-* (cf. Hopi *itamö* WE); if this is correct, *-ŋwa-* is probably ultimately identical with animate plural *-ŋwï-* (§ 48, 1).

The four sets of third personal and demonstrative pronouns are based on the demonstrative stems *a-* THAT (indefinite); *ma-*, *m^{w}a'-* THAT (visible *or* referred to); *i-*, *^{y}i'-* THIS; and *u-*, *^{w}u'-* THAT (invisible). The doublets with two moras (*m^{w}a'-*, *^{y}i'-*, *^{w}u'-*) do not seem to differ in meaning from one-moraed forms (*ma-*, *i-*, *u-*); both types are doubtless found in all animate (singular and plural) and inanimate subjective and objective forms. The two-moraed forms seem to be favored when the pronoun is used without suffix, the one-moraed when used with postpositions. The second element in the third personal pronouns is pronominal: *-ŋa-* for the animate singular; *-m·ï-* (sometimes assimilated to *-m·u-*) for the animate plural (doubtless identical in origin with animate plural suffix *-m·ï-* in nouns, § 48, 1); and *-q·a-* or quasi-pronominal *-rï-* (*-tcï-*) for the inanimate. In the inanimate forms the more properly pronominal *-q·a-* series is far less common than the demonstrative *-rï-* series; *-q·a-* forms seem to be in common use in certain other dialects of Southern Paiute. When used attributively, they follow the noun, while *-rï-* forms precede. An enclitic *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k) is very frequently attached to third personal pronouns, probably to all except inanimates in *-q·a-* and forms with two-moraed demonstrative stem. The chief characteristic of *-c·u-* forms is apparently their more frequent substantive use as true personal pronouns, other forms being employed with more clearly demonstrative force, hence often attributively; nevertheless, *-c·u-* forms are also found used in a demonstrative (and attributive) sense. In general, it is impossible to draw a hard and

fast line between independent third personal pronouns and demonstratives, as they are all in structure demonstrative-personals. On the whole, the purely demonstrative value is strongest in *ma-* (*mʷa'-*) and *i* (*ʲi'-*) forms, the personal in *a-* and *u-* (*ʷu'-*) forms.

(2) *qïma-* OTHER, STRANGER. From this stem is formed a set of forms which closely parallel the independent third personal pronouns. These forms are:

	SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
sing. anim.	*qïma'ŋa-(c·u-)* (the) other one	*qïma'ŋaia-(c·u-)*
plural anim.	*qïma'm·ï-, qïma'm·u-(c·u-)*	*qïma'm·ïa-(c·u-)*
inanimate	*qïma'rï-(c·u-)*	*qïma'rïa-(c·u-)*

For non-pronominal objective *qïma'q·u-*, see § 59, 3, d.

(3) USE OF SUBJECTIVE FORMS. The subjective forms of the independent personal pronouns, as of other pronouns and of nouns, are used as subjects of verbs, unless these are subordinate; as objects of imperatives (for examples see § 52); and, without *-c·u-*, as bases for attached postpositions (§ 50, 3). Examples of independent subjective personal pronouns (including pronoun and postposition) are:

nï' qa·'iˈ I sing
nï'ntca' pɪˈpi'tcï I-preterit arrive, I arrived
nï'c·amp an·i'k·ᵻA I-only do-so, it is only I
nïru'x·WA to me

ta'mɪ qa·'va·n·ɪˈ we two (inclus.) shall sing
tami'ntcuq·WA under us two (inclus.)

ta'ŋWA qa·'q·aiˈ we (inclus.) sing
taŋwa'rux·WA to us (inclus.)

nïᵚmʷï'ntcux·WA to us (exclus.)

imï'ntcu'ᵅ tümpa'γaˈ thou-interrogative mouth-have, have you a mouth?
imï' ɪχïr(§ 60, 3) *uŋwaro''ᵅ* thou indeed art

mʷïmɪ qa·'q·aiˈ ye sing

aŋa'vɪnaŋqwac·U he-after-again, after him again (*-c·U* AGAIN does not function here as pronominal element)

aŋac·U qanɪ'va·v ɥni'n'nintcï he house-at-own do-continuative-participle, he stays in hishouse (for finite use of participle, see § 55, 4, e)

am·ï'rux·WA to them (animate)

arï'rux·WA it-to (rarely used; generally, for inanimate pronoun + postposition, bare demonstrative stem, except in case of *itcï-*, is used, e. g. *aru'x·WA*, see § 43, 1)
arï'c·U qu(·)'n aRÏ that fire it, that fire (for postnominal *aRÏ* see § 42, 6)

A^{x}qa'naŋqwɔp·A near it

mɑŋ ᵃ'a'iyïi' he is good
m^{w}a'ŋantca' pɪ'pi'tcï he-preterit arrive, he arrived
maŋa'ruq·WA under him
maŋa'c·uya' ya'a'iva·n·ɪ' he, it is said, will die

ma'mï qa·'va·n·ɪ' they (two) will sing; *ma'mï qa·'q·ava·n·ɪ'* they will sing
mam·ï'ŋwa'ᵃ with them
mam·u'c·U nan·a'ŋqAtca'q·aiva' they will listen

ma'RÏ qwau' that off, in that direction
imp aro''avï m^{w}a'RÏ what would-be that? I wonder what that is!
marï'c·U piya'ɪ'pïγa' qWA'cɪ'(y)aŋ aRÏ that was-left-over his-tail it; that tail of his was left; it was left, his tail

tümp^{w}i'ts· ma'q·A rock that (uncommon)

aŋ aro''avï i'ŋA who would-be this? I wonder who this one is!
iŋa'rux·WA to him here
ᵛ'iŋ ov^{w}ɪ't·U'pïγa' he here sang a song

im·u'rux·WA to these (animate)

itcï''ᵋaru'ɑm·ɪ' this is wont to be
itcï'rux·WA to it here
ᵛ'i'tcï this (thing)

tümp^{w}i'ts i'k·ᵡA rock this (uncommon)

uŋwɑ'vatcï to him (invisible)
uŋwa'c·U tïv^{w}a'ts aŋA he (inv.) wolf he; that (inv.) wolf; he, the wolf

ɥmu'v^{w}ɪnaŋqwɔp·A behind them (inv.)

uru'rux·WA to it (inv.; assimilated from *urï-*; *uru'x·WA* is more common, cf. under *arï-* above)

ʷ'u'ʀï that (inv. thing)
uru'c· uˣqwɪ'v·nɪ' na(i)ya'p̣·a·ŋˣupïγa' those (sticks) like-arrows became, they (inv.) turned into arrows

uˣqwa'naŋqwɔp·ᴀ near it (inv.)

qïma'ŋac·u another one, stranger
qïma'm·uc·u others, strangers
qïmarïc·u qa'nɪ another house, foreign house

(4) Use of objective forms. The objective forms of the independent personal pronouns, as of other pronouns and of nouns, are used as objects (direct or indirect) of transitive verbs; as subjects of subordinate verbs (§ 55, 1); and as genitives. Examples of independent objective personal pronouns are:

nį̈'nɪ a·'γawantciŋqïmʷɬ' me is-wont-to-hide-from, (he) is wont-to hide from me
nį̈'niᴀ naγu'q·wɪŋqït·u'a(u)x·u me when-fighting, when I fight
nį̈'ni 'ɥwaru''ᵅ me he-is, he is mine

taŋwa'i aʀï us (inclus.) it; ours, the (thing) belonging to us

imi'ᴀ pᴀˣqa'q·ainᴀ thee having-killed, your having killed

mʷį̈mɪ'ᴀcampᴀ except you (plur. obj.)

nï'aq·ᴀ tav aŋa'iac·u tɔ'tsɪ'ᴀ I-it hit him head (obj.), I hit his head (note that *aŋa-* and *aŋaia-* are rarely, if ever, used without *-c·u-*, except for *aŋa-* with postpositions; this is probably to prevent confusion with interrogative *aŋa-*, § 44, 1, a)

'am·į̈'vʷ'antux·wᴀ kwɪ'pa'p·ïγa 'am·į̈'ac·u wa·'ma·ᵃ'caγwɔitsɪŋwïᴀ onto-them (anim.) fell them two-old-women (obj.); (it) fell on them, the two old women

'ava 'arï'ac·u it-at that (obj.), there (at) that (place)

imp aro'' ᴀˣqa'iᴀ what is it (obj.)? what is thereof? what is it (selected from several)?

maŋa'iᴀcampᴀ pïni'k̦·aip·ïγai(y)aŋᴀ him-only saw-him, only him (he) saw

mʷa'rïar'ua·ŋᴀ that (obj.)-interrogative-he, (it is) that that he (has been hiding)

mA'tca'iaŋqïp·ïγai(y)aq·A marï'ac·U wɪα'mpɪA reached-for-it that berry

v'i'm·ïar'ua·m·ïram a·'χaŋwantciŋqïmɪɬ̣a' these (anim. obj.)-interrogative-they-us 2 (inclus.) hide-to-always-perfective, these (animate beings) they seem to have been hiding from us 2

v'i'tcï ɪ·'tcuq·U this (obj.) when-(it)-is-morning, this morning

'ų'wayac·ampA sa'a'ŋqïqava' him (inv.)-only make-mush-for-plural-will, (they) will make mush only for him

yaγa'ŋqïq̇wɔiɬ̣·ava·'am w'u'mʷïA tcaŋwï'k·ɪkwa'itcį̈mʷį̈A let (us) cry for those (who are) dying off

pU'tcu'tcuγwar uru'ac·U tïvʷɪ'p·ïA knowing that (inv.) land

In certain sporadic cases that are not clearly understood objective forms seem to be employed subjectively, e. g.:

nį̈'nɪaχwa'axain·ɪ qarï'i' I too was sitting down

(5) USE OF SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE PRONOUNS. An independent subjective pronoun may be combined with an independent objective one, the former apparently preceding, e. g.:

imɪ nį̈'niA pAˣqq'umpa·n·ɪA thou me wilt-kill
nï' pAˣqa'ŋuŋumʷI mʷį̈mʷɪ'A I kill-you (plur.) you (plur. obj.)

As a rule, however, only one of the pronouns is independent, the other being attached as an enclitic (see § 40, 6).

§ 40. Enclitic personal pronouns.

The enclitic pronominal forms are as follows:

	SUBJECTIVE		OBJECTIVE
1 sing.		*-n·i-*	
dual (inclus.)		*-ram·i-* (*-tcam·i-*)	
plural (inclus.)		*-raŋwa-* (*-tcaŋwa-*)	
plural (exclus.)		*-nïm·ʷi-*	
2 sing.	*-'*		*-' . . .m·i-*
plur.	*-ŋwï-*		*-ŋum·i-*

3 sing.		
anim. vis		*-aŋa-*
anim. inv.		*-' . . .ŋwa-*
plural		
anim. vis.		*-am·ï-*
anim. inv.		*-' . . .m·ï-*
3 inanimate		
vis.		*-aq·a-*
inv.		*-' . . .q·wa-*
dual anim.	*-' . . .m·ï-*	
reflexive possessive		*-vï-*

(1) FORMATION OF PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS. Most of the enclitic pronouns may be used either subjectively or objectively. The objective forms of the second person are formed from the corresponding subjective forms by the addition of *-m·i-*, perhaps identical with the *-m·i-* of independent *im·i-* THOU; *-ŋum·i-* < *-ŋwïm·i-* (§ 3, 3, d). The dual animate enclitic *-' . . .m·ï-* is a subjective element; it is outwardly identical with *-' . . .m·ï-*, the third person plural animate invisible element, but, though in certain cases very difficult to keep apart from the latter (which, when the verb is singular in form, necessarily has a dual reference), is clearly distinct from it, as it may refer to all animate persons, including the third person animate visible. *-vï-* is only used in a possessive sense and is evidently somewhat in a class by itself. The position of the pronominal enclitics with reference to other enclitic elements has been already spoken of (see § 19, 4).

The enclitic pronouns are closely related, for the greater part, to the corresponding independent pronouns. The first person singular *-n·i-* is connected with, though not identical with, the independent *nï'*, *nï-*; this vocalic alternation is probably an old Uto-Aztekan feature, cf. Nahuatl independent *nè* I with proclitic *ni-* I, ME. The other enclitics of the first person are identical with the corresponding independent pronouns, *t-* becoming spirantized to *-r-* (*-tc-* after *-i-*). The *-'* of the second person singular is entirely peculiar to the enclitic series; *-ŋwï-* and *-ŋum·i-* of the plural are doubtless spirantized from **mï(m·i)-*, cf. independent *m^{w}ïm·^{w}i-*. The visible forms of the third person are compounded of demonstrative *-a-* and the pronominal elements *-ŋa-*, *-m·ï-*, and *-q·a-* already discussed in § 39, 1. The invisible forms are compounded of an accessory *-'-* and the same pronominal elements, a *-w-* being inserted in the animate singular and

the inanimate. This -' . . . .-*w*- may be a specialized form of demonstrative *ʷ'u'*- THAT (invisible). The reflexive possessive *-vï-* seems to have no independent analogue, unless, indeed, it be connected with relative *pï-* (§ 45); cf. probably also Shoshonean **pï-* HE, HIS (Cahuilla *pe* HE, *pehe-* HIS; San Juan Capistrano *po-* HIS).

(2) USE OF SUBJECTIVE FORMS. The subjective enclitics may be used as the subject of a non-subordinate verb or as the object of an imperative (§ 52). The animate dual -' . . .*m·ï*-, however, of which examples will be given separately, functions only as a subject, sometimes also as a possessive. Subjective examples of enclitic pronouns, attached both to verbs and to other parts of speech, are:

ivi'ŋuntcar'ɔanɪ did I take a drink?
ya'a'iχv·n·iχa' 'ɔai' would that I might die!
a'ïvʷɪnɪ pïni'ḵ·aiva' now-I shall-see
qa·'yïrαmɪ we 2 (inclus.) sing.
qa·'q·a(i)yïrαŋwA we (inclus.) sing
p̣ɔ''aq·aχaitcaŋwA we (inclus.) have lice
qa·'yïnïmʷɪ we 2 (exclus.) sing
qa·'yï'ⁱ thou singest
aŋa'm·ïantca' pAˣqa'ŋU whom-plur.-preterit-thou kill? whom (2) did you kill?
pAˣqa'ŋUtï·vʷa·ᵃnɪaŋwï you 2 will get killed
impï'aŋw an·i'ḵ·arïi' what-obj.-you (plur.) do-sit-present? what do you 2 do as (you) sit?
ivi'ŋuntcar'ɔa·ŋA did he take a drink?
qanɪ'a·ŋA pïn·ɪ'ḵ·a' house-obj.-he see, he see(s) (the) house
pAˣqa'ŋUpïay'ïŋwA he (inv.) was killed (long ago)
uŋwa'iᶻḵaiyïaq·A it (vis.) hangs
tcaχɪ'p̣·aq·w aïvʷ uru''ᵃ near-it (inv.) now is
qa·'q·a(i)yïamï they (vis.) sing
aχα'n·iχaiam 'anɪ'm·i' what-do-subordinating-they (vis.) do-usitative? why do they always do so?
ᵃ'a'(i)ʏUqwa(i)'yïmʷï they (inv.) are good
mʷα'va'amï qarï'p·ïγa' there-they (inv.) dwelt

In connection with the use of second person singular -' certain peculiar contraction phenomena are to be noted. Ordinarily the pronominal -' does not amalgamate with a ' in the last syllable of the word to which it is attached (e. g. from *-γwa'ai-* TO GO IN ORDER TO is formed *na'u'ŋwaiχwa'ai'ⁱ* GO THOU AND HANG THYSELF!), but in

other cases such amalgamation takes place, so that no specific pronominal element is apparent at all. This is notably the case with interrogative *-ru'a-*, e. g.:

ivi'yïro'$^{\alpha}$ art thou drinking? (< *-ro'α-* + *-'*; not *-ro'α'*)
cu(w)a'ru' nǫn·ɔ'c·ı' maybe you'll dream

Probably this difference of treatment has something to do with the difference between inherent and accessory ' (§ 15, 1). Furthermore, the pronominal *-'* is lost in certain cases, notably after *qatcu-* NOT, after demonstrative *ai-* (§ 43, 5), and before *ai-* TO SAY and *an·i-* TO DO; a final *-a* is then elided before following *a-*. Examples are:

qatcu' n·a·'n·ıa'ap·A not-thou say-negative, do not say anything
a'i(y) ıgïr a'imıA that-obj.-thou indeed say-usitative, you are indeed wont to say (= *ai-a-' ïγïr*, cf. *a'ian ïγïr* that-I indeed)
^{u}m^{w}α'nıǩaim·ı aik·^{x}A that-do-resultative-usitative-thou said; remains like that, you said (= *-m·ıa-' ai-*)
ï'tï'a·n·ı aik·^{x}A too-bad-thou say, (it is) too bad (that) you say (= *-n·ıa-' ai-*, cf. *ï'tï'a·n·ıan aik·^{x}A* it is too bad that I say)
man·ı'ŋumpa·ntï'ŋw aik·^{x}A that-do-momentaneous-future-participle-him (inv.)-thou say; being about to do thus to him, you say (= *-'ŋwa-' ai-*; for combination of enclitic pronouns, see § 41, 2, a, end)
aχa'n·iχai 'anik·^{x}A what-do-subordinating-thou do? why do you do so? (= *-χai' 'ani-*)

The third person inanimate enclitic pronouns (*-aq·a-* and *-' . . .q·wa-*) are very often used, as in English, in an impersonal sense, particularly in references to the weather. Examples are:

uŋwa'(i)yïaq·A it is raining (said by one who sees it raining)
uŋwa'(i)'yïq·WA it is raining (said by one who does not see it rain)
nïa'va·n·ı'aq·WA it will blow
aŋa''q· uv^{w}ai' who-it (inv.) then? who is it, then?

Subjective examples of animate dual *-' . . .m·ï-* are:

mamï qa·'y'ïmï they 2 (vis.) sing (not equivalent to *qa·'y'ïmï* they 2 inv. sing, as *ma'mï* implies visibility, but to *qa·'yïamï* they 2 sing; in *mamï qa·'y'ïmï* duality is expressly indicated by *-' . . .mï-*, in *qa·'yïamï* merely implied because of singular form of verb)
mamï'ntca' pı'pi'tci'ïmï they 2 (vis.) arrived
tamï'ntca' pı'pi'tci'ïmï we 2 (inclus.) arrived
tamı qanı'va·'m ųni'n'ni' we-2 (inclus.) house-at-dual do-continuative-present, we 2 stay at (the) house (= *qanı'va·ram ųni'n'ni'*)

mi̯m^{w}ɪ qa·'xai'imï tï'qa'i' we (exclus.) sing-subordinating-dual eat-present, we 2 (excl.) eat while singing
m^{w}ïmï qa·'y'ïmï you 2 sing (contrast *m^{w}ïmï qa·'q·ai'* you [plur.] sing)

(3) USE OF OBJECTIVE FORMS. Objective forms are used as objects of transitive verbs, as subjects of subordinate verbs, and as possessives. For their use in subordinate verb forms, see § 55, 1. Possessives, exemplified only in noun forms, are treated below (4). Examples of enclitic pronouns in a properly objective sense are:

qU'qwi't·u'ac·uyaγwanoanɪ would that they (indef.) would shoot me! I wish I would get shot!
uv^{w}a·'^{a}nïnɪ ya·'ŋqïk·ɪ there-being-me fetch-to-hither, bring (it) there to me
ų̈ŋwa'rïram aRï tcuχwɪ'yïramɪ rain-us 2 (inclus.) it approaches-us 2, the rain approaches us 2 (inclus.) (note that *aRï*, § 42, 6, refers to *ų̈ŋwa'rï-*, while *-ram*, which comes in between, anticipates *-ramɪ* of following verb)
qwɪ'aγantïraŋ ų̈nɪ'vitciγïraŋ^{WA} bear-us (inclus.) comes-to-attack-us (inclus.)
qU'qwi't·u'ac·uyaγwanïminoA would that we (exclus.) would get shot!
pa'iy'ïmɪ calls for thee
'u'r'um· ų̈nɪ'ts· maxa'rïv^{w}a·nti'mɪ that (invis. inan.)-thee then protect-future-participle-thee, that will (be) protecting you
ava'ŋwiŋumɪ yuα'm'miava' it-in-you (plur.) carry-along-will, (he) will carry you (plur.) along in it
nɔ·'n'nintcïaŋA carry-continuative-participle-him (vis.), who carries him around
nï' qatcu'aŋA qa·'t·uiŋwa'^{a} I not-him (vis.) sing-causative-negative, I do not let him sing
cina'ŋwavɪ'ɪŋWA pA^{x}qa'ŋUpïγa'aiŋWA coyote-him (inv.) killed-him (inv.)
man·ɔ'q·oαq·A pU'tcu'tcuγwaRï all (obj.)-it (vis.) knowing, knowing it all
nï' tavɪ'aq·A tɔ'tsi'a·ŋA I hit-it (vis.) head-obj.-his (vis.), I hit his head
i'mɪ pU'tcu'tcuγwa'yïq·WA thou knowest it (inv.)
tu'u'mApïγa'aik·w uru'v^{w}ïA (he) picked-them (invis. inan.)-up arrow-sticks (obj.), he picked up arrow-sticks
qatcu''uq·WA naŋqa'p·ïγa' not-it (inv.) (he)-heard
nï' mari'n·a(i)yïamï I chase them (vis.)
nï' pA'qa'ŋ'um^{w}ï I kill them (inv.)

(4) USE OF OBJECTIVE FORMS AS POSSESSIVE PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS. In a possessive sense enclitic pronouns can be used only with nouns. Inasmuch, however, as such an enclitic, even when appended to a noun, can have objective (or, in most cases, also subjective) significance, a theoretical ambiguity sometimes results. Thus, a form like *qanɪ'anɪ* HOUSE-OBJ.-I (or ME, MY) may be interpreted as signifying either MY HOUSE (obj.) or I (DO SO AND SO TO) A HOUSE. The form of the whole sentence or the context generally removes the ambiguity. In practice a noun with possessive enclitic is generally followed by a postnominal article-pronoun, e. g. *qanɪ'an aʀï* MY-HOUSE (OBJ.) IT, in which case no ambiguity is possible. Examples of possessive enclitics are:

puŋqu'nɪ my horse; *qʊ'tcu'mpuŋquŋwïnɪ* my cattle (lit., buffalo-pets)
ɪtcï'nɪ pʌ'tca'n· α'ʀï tɔ'tɔ'q·wa'aŋqï this-me mocasin-my it patch (distributively)- for, patch these moccasins of mine for me
tïγï'vïramɪ friend-our (dual inclusive); you and I who are friends (song form)
pivï'araŋwʌ mother (distributively)-our (inclus.), our (inclus.) mothers
paa''amɪ thy aunt; *paa'(i)'yamɪ* thy aunt (obj.)
pia'ru'a'm aro''ª mother-interrogative- thy is, is it your mother?
pɪ(y)a'ŋum u'ŋwʌ mother-your (plur.) she, your (plur.) mother
taŋa'n·a·x·ɪtuγwa·ŋʌ knee-in-to-his (vis.), into his knee
pavɪ''ɪŋwʌ his (inv.) elder brother
aru''ana'ŋwʌ be-verbal noun-his (inv.), his being, his property
aʀï'c·ʊ taŋwa·'q· aʀï that (inan.) tooth-its (vis.) it, that tooth of it
yaγa·'ma·q·ʌ end-at-its, at its end
ʌ'sɪ''a·(i)ya'q·wʌ its surface, bark (obj.)
nɪa·'vɪŋ'wa·m· aŋʌ chief-possessed-their (vis.) he, their chief
pi(y)a''amï their (inv.) mother

Instead of *-am·ï-* THEIR (vis.) and *-' . . .m·ï-* THEIR (inv.) are sometimes found the corresponding singular forms *-aŋa-*, *-' . . .ŋwa-*. This takes place, though not always, when the person referred to by the enclitic pronoun precedes with the plural animate suffix *-ŋwï-* (*-m·ï-*; § 48, 1), evidently in order to avoid a double plural. Analogous phenomena will meet us again (§ 41, 1, e; § 42, 2 and 5). Examples of this "number dissimilation" in possessive forms are:

qum·a'ŋwïa·m· aŋʌ nɪa·'ªvɪ'ŋwʌ husband-plural-objective-their he (= them; § 42, 2, end) chief-his (inv.; = their inv.); their-husbands

(obj.) their-chief, chief of their husbands (for possessive use of noun objectives see § 49,2; for pleonastic use of possessive pronoun, below)

ᵃ'a't·ïŋwaŋwïa'aŋwA good-possessed-plural-obj.-his (inv.), their (inv.) good ones (anim. obj.), good ones (anim. obj.)

The reflexive possessive *-vï-* occurs only in objective forms, i. e. after objective *-a-*, *-ya-* (§ 49, 1); after nominalizing *-n·a-* (§ 25, 3); and after postpositions, which are syntactically equivalent to the objective (§ 50, 3). The reflexive possessive indicates that the possessor is the same person as the subject of the sentence. Ordinarily it refers to the third person, but it may also be employed in first and second personal references. Examples of its use are:

qanɪ 'u'raˈ paa'iav uŋwA house (obj.) it-towards aunt-obj.- own she (= her; § 42, 4), (he went) towards the house of his aunt

o·'αφï maŋa'c·u qwïï'iˈ he takes his own arrow

puŋqu'ŋwïαφï qɔγɔ''iˈ kills his own horses

qanɪ'va·φï pɪˈpi'tcïpïγaˈ house-at-own arrived, (he) arrived at his own house

patcɪ'ŋw'aiφï tɔγɔ'q·wɪpïγaˈ ran off with his own daughter

ya'a'iq̇·wɔ'aiväˈ yaγa'n·av umʷa'naŋqwA let-(him)-die crying-own therewith, let him die with his crying

ẗivʷɪ'p·ïaq·ayav ᵘ'u'raˈ land-possessed-plural (§ 48, 2)-obj.-own it-toward, towards their own lands

i'mɪ pu'(ʷ)ɪ'yaφï wïtu'vʷuaq·aivaˈ thou eye-obj.-own cover-shall, you shall cover your eyes

nï' mava·'ac· arï'A tiŋqa'nɪvïatsiaφï pa(i)yü'ŋUpïγaˈ I there-again that (inan. obj.) cave-owned-little-obj.-own returned, I returned there in that same little cave of mine

Explicitly plural (or dual) forms of the third person reflexive possessive are also found; they are compounded of *-am·ï-* THEIR (vis.) or *-'* . . . *.m·ï-* THEIR (inv.) and *-vï-*, theoretical *-'* . . . *.m·ïvï-* appearing, however, as *-'* . . . *.m·ovï-*, *-'* . . . *.m·auvï-*. Examples are:

qanɪ'vä·ntuχwa·ᵃmïφï to their own house

puŋqu'tsia·mïφï their (2) own dear horse (obj.)

pɔrɔ'm'amauφï, -moφï with their (2) own canes (cf. *pɔrɔ'ma(u)φï* with his own cane); *pɔrɔ'q̇·(w)ama(·ᵃ)mauφï* with their own canes (for *-q·a-* see § 48, 2)

Explicitly dual forms of the reflexive possessive are made by

compounding *-vï-* with animate dual *-' . . .m·ï-*: *-vï"ïm·ï-* THEIR 2 OWN. This form, as contrasted with *-' . . .m·ovï-* discussed above, shows clearly that third person animate plural invisible *-' . . .m·ï-* is not identical with animate dual *-' . . .m·ï-*, though it seems sometimes to intercross it in usage. Examples of *-vï"ïm·ï-* are:

nava'ɸɪtsɪŋw αmï yu'a'p·ïγaiᴀˣqa'mï tᴜ'cu'n·a·ŋᴀ pi(y)a'(i)yavï"ïmï
two-brothers they carried-it (vis.)-dual grinding-her mother-obj.-own-dual; the two brothers carried what she, their (2) mother, ground

uvʷa"a·mï qarï'p·ïγa'aimï qanɪ"aŋᴡᴀ pi(y)a'(i)yavï"ïmï qanï'vä'
there-they (inv.) stayed-dual house-objective-her mother-obj.-own-dual house-at; there they 2 stayed (at) her house, at their (2) mother's house

(5) PLEONASTIC FORMS. Double (or even more frequent) expression of pronominal elements is very common in Paiute. Examples of the repetition of the subjective or objective pronoun, both pronouns enclitic or one enclitic and the other independent, have occurred in preceding lists. There is a marked tendency for the objective enclitic pronoun to attach itself to the verb even if it is elsewhere expressed in the sentence; in transitive sentences the enclitic subject seems to be normally attached to the verb only in combination with the enclitic object (§ 41, 2, a). Particularly characteristic is the employment of enclitic possessives together with genitives (i. e. objectives) of the corresponding independent pronoun, e. g.:

nï'nɪᴀ pavi'tsɪnɪ me my-elder brother
maŋa'iᴀ paa'aŋᴀ him his-aunt
pi·'χɪtsɪŋ'wïm imi'ᴀ pigs-thy thee, thy pigs
imi'ᴀ paa'i'amɪ thee aunt-obj.-thy, thy aunt (obj.)

Pleonasm is abundantly illustrated also in nouns, which are often anticipated or redundantly referred to by pronouns, independent or enclitic. Of such usages also examples have already been given. Particularly frequent is the occurrence of an objective enclitic pronoun of the third person with an objective noun, e. g. I SEE-IT HOUSE (OBJ.) as equivalent of I SEE HOUSE (OBJ.). In genitive constructions this is almost the rule, e. g. *paa'ia·ŋᴀ qanɪ'aŋᴀ* AUNT-OBJ.-HIS HOUSE-HER, HIS AUNT'S HOUSE; also *paa'ia·ŋᴀ qanɪ.*

(6) COMBINATIONS OF INDEPENDENT AND ENCLITIC PRONOUNS.

Independent and enclitic pronouns are often combined into a single phonetic group or "word," the independent or enclitic element being either subjective or objective. Thus, instead of saying *i'mɪ pAˣqa'ŋumpa·n·ɪa·ŋA* THOU KILL-WILL-HIM, one can attach objective *-aŋA* to *imi-*: *imi'aŋA pAˣqa'ŋumpa·n·ɪ'* THOU-HIM KILL-WILL. The following types of combination occur:

(a) *Independent subject + enclitic object*, e. g.:

nï''ïmɪ pA'qa'ŋumpa·n·ɪ' I-thee kill-shall
nï'ŋumɪ mǫį'mpa·ŋumɪ I-you (plur.) lead-will-you
nï'aŋA pU'tcu'tcuγwai' I-him (vis.) know
nï'χwa'aŋWA pA'qa'ŋU I-preterit-him (inv.) kill, I killed him
nï'aq· ivi'ŋU I-it (vis.) drink, I've drunk it
nï'amï qɔχɔ''iva' I-them (vis.) will kill
tamɪ'aŋA pAˣqq'umpa' we 2 (inclus.)-him (vis.) will kill
taŋwa''aŋwa'ª mama'iva·mpï' we (inclus.)-him (inv.)-perhaps (§ 19, 2, n) find (distributively)-future-dubitative, we (inclus.) might find him
iminɪ pAˣqq'umpa' thou-me wilt kill
imi''ɪŋWA pAˣqq'umpa' you will kill him (inv.)
mį̈mʷɪ'ya·ŋA tɔ'nA you (plur.)-dual imperative (§ 52)-him (vis.) punch! you 2 punch him!
u'u'ŋwani'amɪ tïnɪ'aŋqïq·a'aimɪ he (inv.)-like-thee tell-to-perfective-thee, it seems that he has been telling you
uŋwa'c·'uq·WA qatcu''ᵘq·WA pį̈ni'n·aip·ï'aª he (inv.)-it (inv.) not-it (inv.) see-negative-past, he did not see it
mam·ï'ntca·q·A NA'cï'mʷïaq·A they (vis.)-preterit-it (vis.) forget-it (vis.), they forgot it

A variant of this type is that in which the independent and enclitic pronouns are both subjective, the independent pronoun being used predicatively, e. g.:

imi'ntcu'a·q·A nį̈'niA pį̈ŋwa'ntuγwaq·ainan·ɪanɪ thou-interrogative-it (vis.) me (= my) whom-depending-on-perfective-verbal noun-like-my, it is not you on whom I have been depending (for use of "it" as equivalent of substantive verb, see § 56, 3)

(b) *Independent object (possessive) + enclitic subject*, e. g.:

nį̈'nia' pɪŋwa'ruvʷa·n·ɪanɪ me-thou wife-make-will-me, you will marry me

nï'nɪa·ŋ ampa'xananɪ naŋqa'q·a' me (= my)-he (vis.) talking-my hear; he hears my talking, me talking

imi'αnɪ nam·ï'm·aŋwɪc·ava'amɪ thee-I first-shove-will-thee, I'll shove you (in) first

imi'åŋwA pAᶻqq'umpa' thee-he (inv.) will kill

aŋa'iAcuanɪ pi̯nɪ'k̲·a' him-*a*- (§ 19, 3, a)-I see, I saw him

man·ɔ'q· ɥmʷï''amï qwᵊ'ɔ'ip·ïγa' all (obj.) them (invis.)-they (inv.) killed, they killed all of them

A special variety of this type is that in which the independent objective functions as the subject of a subordinate clause, the enclitic subject as the subject of the main clause, e. g.:

nï'niantca·ŋA tï'qa'χunɪ yaya'x·A me-preterit-he eat-while-me cry (momentaneously); while I was eating, he began to cry (*-ntca·ŋA* is logically cut loose from *yaya'x·A*, while *nï'nia-* anticipates *-nɪ* of *tï'qa'χunɪ*)

imi''aq·wA naŋa'i'aik̲·am aχa'n'nɪ ïvʷɪ'p·ï tïᶻqa'ŋ'wɪχo' thee-it (inv.) get-angry-when-thee how earth appear-would? if you get angry, how would (the) earth appear? (*imia-* anticipates *-' . . .m*, *-' . . .q·wA* anticipates *ïvʷɪp·ï*)

(c) *Independent object + enclitic object.* The first object may be the subject of a subordinate clause, the second its object, e. g.:

taŋwa'(i)'yaq·wA mama'aik·ᶻA us (inclus.)-it (inv.) find (distributively)-when, when we find it

uŋwa'iAcu'q·wA mʷα'nɪᶻt̄ïik̲·aq̇·uŋwA him (inv.)-it (inv.) that-do-causative-perfective-when-him (inv.), when he has caused to do it (*uŋwa'iA-cu-* anticipates *-' . . .ŋwA*)

mam·ï'Acuaq·A nɔvɪ'k̲·a(u)x·U them (vis.)-it (vis.) cover (with bark)-plural-when, when they covered it with bark

Or, conversely, the first object may be the logical object, the second the logical subject of the subordinate clause, e. g.:

'i'tciaraŋwA mam·a'aik·ᶻA this (inan. obj.)-us (inclus.) find-when, when we find this

Still other combinations are possible, e. g. independent possessive + object:

imi''αŋwa' a'ik̲·ainA thee (= thy)-him (inv.) having-said, thy having said (about) him

§ 41. Combinations of enclitic pronouns.

Enclitic pronouns are often combined, the union of two such pronouns being extremely common, that of three not at all rare. The order of elements is rigidly determined by form, not by function (e. g. *-aŋan·i-* HE-ME, I-HIM, I-HIS, HIS-ME, MY-HIM, HE-MY). The resulting theoretical ambiguities are generally resolved by the context, particularly as the pleonastic usages already referred to (§ 40, 5) give opportunity for further limitation of the syntactical possibilities. Thus, *nï' -aŋanɪ* can only mean I-HIM or I-HIS; *-aŋanɪ -nɪ* (verb form) can hardly mean anything but HE-ME. The following table gives a survey of combinations of two enclitic pronouns; the horizontal entries are subjective, the vertical objective. As a rule the pronominal elements are preserved intact, but certain modifications need to be noted.

The combined forms listed in the table apply not only to combinations of subject and object of the same verb but to all other combinations of subjective and objective, including possessive, forms. The table also includes combinations of objective + objective enclitics, insofar as objective forms are identical with subjective forms; e. g. *-aŋa'ami-* HE-THEE, HE-THY applies also to HIM-THEE, HIM-THY, HIS-THEE. Special double objective forms are:

-'mini- thee-me, me-thee
-ŋumini- you (obj.)-me, me-you (obj.)
-'minïm^{w}i- thee-us (also us-thee, we-thee)
-ŋuminïm^{w}i- you (obj.)-us (also us-you, we-you)

(1) MORPHOLOGY OF COMBINED FORMS. The following rules are followed in the combination of enclitic pronouns:

(a) The combination of the first person singular subject and the second person object, which should theoretically result in *-'mini-* and *-ŋumini-*, is simplified to *-'mi-* and *-ŋumi-* (properly THEE and YOU OBJ.), the first person being thus merely implied.

(b) The second person singular subjective element (-') always follows an element of the first or third person, also the objective form of the second person.

(c) In all combinations of the first and second persons but those coming under (b), the second personal element precedes (e. g. *-ŋwïni-* YE-ME, *-'mini-* THEE-ME).

(d) In combinations of the third person with either the first or second person, the element referring to the third person precedes. Note, however, *-ŋwï'ïmï-* YE-THEM (INV.).

	1 sing.	1 dual incl.	1 pl. incl.	1 pl. excl.	2 sing. subj.	2 plur. subj.
1 sing.					*-ni'*	*-ŋwïni-*
dual incl.						
pl. incl.						
pl. excl.					*-nïm^{w}i'*	*-ŋwïnïm^{w}i-*
2 sing. obj.	*-'mi-*			*-'minïm^{w}i-*	*-'mi'*	
pl. obj.	*-ŋumi-*			*-ŋuminïm^{w}i-*		
3 sing. an. vis	*-aŋani-*	*-aŋarami-*	*-aŋaraŋwa-*	*-aŋanïm^{w}i-*	*-aŋa'*	*-aŋaŋwï-*
sing. an. invis.	*-'ŋwani-*	*-'ŋwarami-*	*-'ŋwaraŋwa-*	*-ŋwanïm^{w}i-*	*-'ŋwa'*	*-'ŋwaŋwï-*
plur. an. vis.	*-amïni-*	*-amïrami-*	*-amïraŋwa-*	*-amïnïm^{w}i-*	*-amï'*	
plur. an. invis.	*-'mïni-*	*-'mïrami-*	*-'mïraŋwa-*	*-'mïnïm^{w}i-*	*-'mi'*	*-ŋwï'ïmï-*
inan. vis.	*-aq·ani-*	*-aq·arami-*	*-aq·araŋwa-*	*-aq·anïm^{w}i-*	*-aq·a'*	*-aq·aŋwï-*
inan. inv.	*-'q·wani-*	*-'q·warami-*	*-'q·waraŋwa-*	*-'q·wanïm^{w}i-*	*-'q·wa'*	*-'q·waŋwï-*

	3 sing. an. vis.	3 sing. an. inv.	3 plur. an. vis.	3 plur. an. inv.	3 inan. vis.	3 inan. inv.	an. dual
1 sing.	*-aŋani-*	*-'ŋwani-*	*-amïni-*	*-'mïni-*	*-aq·ani-*	*-'q·wani-*	*-'mïni-*
dual incl.	*-aŋarami-*	*-'ŋwarami-*	*-amïrami-*	*-'mïrami-*	*-aq·arami-*	*-'q·warami-*	*-'mïrami-*
pl. incl.	*-aŋaraŋwa-*	*-'ŋwaraŋwa-*	*-amïraŋwa-*	*-'mïraŋwa-*	*-aq·araŋwa-*	*-'q·waraŋwa-*	*-'mïraŋwa-*
pl. excl..	*-aŋanïm^{w}i-*	*-'ŋwanïm^{w}i-*	*-amïnïm^{w}i-*	*-'mïnïm^{w}i-*	*-aq·anïm^{w}i-*	*-'q·wanïm^{w}i-*	*-'mïnïm^{w}i-*
2 sing. obj.	*-aŋa'ami-*	*-'ŋwa'ami-*	*-amï'ïmi-*	*-'mï'ïmi-*	*-aq̇·ami-*	*-'q·wa'mi-*	*-'mï'ïmi-*
pl. obj.	*-aŋaŋumi-*	*-'ŋwaŋumi-*	*-amïŋumi-*	*-'mïŋumi-*	*-aq·aŋumi-*	*-'q·waŋumi-*	*-'mïŋumi-*
3 sing. an. vis.	*-aŋa'ŋa-*		*-aŋ'amï-*		*-aq̇·aŋa-*		*-aŋ'amï-*
sing. an. invis.		*-'ŋwa'ŋwa-*		*-'ŋw'amï-*		*-'q·wa'ŋwa-*	*-'ŋw'amï-*
plur. an. vis.	*-aŋ'amï-*		*-aŋ'amï-*		*-aq̇·amï-*		*-am'ïmï-*
plur. an. invis.		*-'ŋw'amï-*		*-'ŋw'amï-*		*-'q·wamï-*	*-'mï'ïmï-*
inan. vis.	*-aq̇·aŋa-*		*-aq̇·amï-*		*-aq̇·aq·a-*		*-aq̇·amï-*
inan. inv.		*-'q·wa'ŋwa-*		*-'q·wamï-*		*-'q·waq̇·wa-*	*-'q·wa'mï-*

(e) In combinations of the third person, the singular animate precedes the plural animate, while the animate is always preceded by the inanimate. Furthermore, two *a-* vowels coming together in composition do not contract to *a·* but to *a'* (or *'a*); e. g. *-aŋa'ŋa-* < *-aŋa-* + *-aŋa-*, *-aq̇·aŋa-* < *-aq·a-* + *-aŋa-*. "Number dissimilation" (cf. § 40, 4) takes place when two animate plurals are combined, the first enclitic becoming singular in form; hence *-aŋ'amï-* < *-amï-amï-* as well as *-aŋa-amï-*, *-'ŋwa'mï-* < *-'mï-'mï-* as well as *-'ŋwa-'mï-*. Such a form as *-amï'mï-* THEY 2-THEM (VIS.) is compounded of *-amï-* and animate dual *-' . . .mï-*. A visible enclitic element is never combined with an invisible one (e. g. *-aŋa'ŋwa-* is impossible). Should it be necessary to contrast a visible subject or object with an invisible one, recourse must be had to the separation of the subject and object, e. g. *uŋwa'c·'uq·w ivi'va·n·ɪa·q·A* HE (INV.)-IT (INV.) DRINK-WILL-IT (VIS.), HE (INV.) WILL DRINK IT (VIS.); in combined form only *ivi'va·n·ɪaA^{x}qa'aŋA* HE (VIS.) WILL DRINK IT (VIS.) or *ivi'va·n·ɪaq̇·wa'aŋWA* HE (INV.) WILL DRINK IT (INV.) are possible.

(f) The objective reflexive possessive *-vï-* has not been included in the table. It does not seem to combine with elements of the first and second persons. It is very frequently combined with enclitic elements of the third person, which it follows: *-aŋavï-*, *-'ŋwavï-*, *-am·ïvï-*, *-'mïvï-*, *-aq·avï-*, *-'q·wavï-*. It precedes the animate dual, however: *-vï'ïmï-*.

(g) The animate dual, which is regularly subjective, follows all third personal elements, including *-vï-* (see f above), but apparently precedes the enclitics of the first and second persons. Data, however, are quite imperfect for the latter cases. It may be noted once more that subjective animate plurals of the third person function as duals if the verb is singular in form.

(2) USES OF TWO COMBINED ENCLITIC PRONOUNS. The relations entered into by the two pronominal enclitics are of various sorts. The following are the main types that have been observed:

(a) *Subject and object of main verb.* Examples of this most frequently represented of types are:

a·'χawantcïv^{w}a·^{a}nɪ'amɪ I shall hide thee
pɣnɪ'ɣ·aiva·^{a}ŋum^{w}ɪ I will see you (plur.)
um·a·'ŋanɪ pA^{x}qa'ŋUpïγai(y)aŋA it-with-him (vis.)-I killed-him (vis.), I killed him with it

man·ɔ'q·ɔaq·anɪ nɔ·'i' all (obj.)-it (vis.)-I carry-present, I carry them (inan.) all on (my) back

ïv^{w}ï'ḍ·wanɪ tɔna'va·'q·wA let-it (inv.)-I stab-shall -it (inv.), let me stab it

nɪa'(i)yï(ʏ)αmïnɪ I call them (vis.) by name

ïv^{w}ï''q·waramɪ sɔtsɪ'ḵ·aiva' let-it (inv.)- we 2 (inclus.) peep-shall, let us 2 peep at it

ïv^{w}ɪ''yaŋwaraŋwA pA'pa'q·qumṗa·ŋwA let-plural imperative (§ 52) -him (inv.)-we (inclus.) kill (distributively)- shall-him (inv.), let us all kill him

uv^{w}a·'ntux·wAcutca·ŋanïmɪ cïm·ï'αk·ɪ it-at-to-same-preterit-him (vis.)-we (excl.) leave-hither, at that same place we (excl.) left him and came away

tU^{x}qwɪ''aiŋqïr'ɔnɪ'^{i} shame-die-to-interrogative-me-thou, are you ashamed of me?

axa'n·intca·^{a}ŋa'^{a} pA^{x}qa'ŋoaŋA how-preterit-him (vis.)-thou kill-him (vis.)? how did you kill him?

nana'ŋq^{x}Aqaitcu'a·q·aŋwï hear (distributively)-perfective-interrogative-it (vis.)-ye, did you (plur.) hear it?

'an·ɔ'q·ɔχwaŋ'wan ɥnï'k·^{x}A when-preterit-he (inv.)-me so-do? when did he do so to me?

maa'iva·mṗï·ŋwarami'^{i} find-will-dubitative-he (inv.)-us 2 (inclus.)-perhaps, he might find us 2 (inclus.).

ẗïv^{w}ɪ'tsɪχatsa·ŋanį̈mɪ he (vis.) obeyed us (excl.); we 2 (excl.) obeyed him (vis.)

tɔna'va·n·ɪar'ɔa·ŋa'ŋA will he (vis.) punch him (vis.)?

niŋwï'ŋwa·^{a}ḍ·aŋA mɔ'ɔ'aφï ṗį̈nɪ'ṫ·ɪu̯ḵ·a' person-plural-obj.-it (vis.)-he hand-obj.- own see-cause-perfective; he let people see it, his hand

ava'ŋwɪtca·ŋ'amï watcü'ŋU it-in-preterit-he (vis.)-them (vis.) put, he put them 2 in; *also* they 2 put them 2 (*or* him) in

ava'ŋwɪtca·ŋ'amï watcï'q·aŋU they (more than 2) put them 2 (*or* him) in (note plural *-q·a-* of verb); *ava'ŋwɪtca·ŋ'amï yɥn·a'ŋU* he (*or* they 2) put them (more than 2) in (singular-dual or plural nature of object determined by verb stem: *watcï-* to put 1 or 2, *yun·a-* to put more than 2)

pa·''aγavatcuγwaŋw'αmï qwïï'p·ïγa' water-into-them (inv.)-they (inv.) took (sing.-dual subject and object), they 2 took them 2 into (the) water

man·ɔ'q·uaḍ·amï nava'ɪ'pïγaiA'qa'amï all (obj.)-it (vis.)- they (vis.) divided (sing.-dual)-it (vis.)-they (vis.), all of it they 2 divided

pa(i)yu''aŋqïq·ɪv'a·m^{w}ïnɪ water-bring-for-hither-shall-dual-me, (ye) 2 shall bring water for me

man·ɔ'q·oɑm·''ïmï niŋwï'm·aŋ'wïp·ïγai(y)am'ïmï all (obj.)-them (vis.)-dual people-cause-past-them (vis.)-dual, (they) 2 caused them all to be people

As a variant of this type may be considered that in which the objective element functions as the object not of the main verb, but of a subordinate form, say a gerund in *-tsɪ-* (§ 55, 1, a), e. g.:

tavɪ'tsɪtca·ŋanɪ qA'qa'RÏ hit-gerund-preterit-he-me run; having hit me, he ran off (note that *-nɪ* serves as object of *tavɪ'tsɪ-*, while *-tca-aŋa-* belong to following *qA'qa'RÏ*)

(b) *Subject (objective form) of subordinate clause and subject of main clause.* Examples are:

pɪ'tcïqa'ŋwɑnɪ nï' cu'a'iva' arrive-if-him (inv.)-I I be-glad-shall; if he arrives, I shall be glad

tï'qa'xutca·ŋ'aŋA qaχa' eat-when-preterit-him (vis.)-he (vis.) sing (momentaneously); while he ate, he (another) sang

ųŋwa'ŋUq̇wa'q·wa' patca'q·wa·^{a}va' rain-momentaneous-if-it (inv.)-thou get-wet-future; if it rains, you'll get wet

ya'a'ik·^{z}A^{x}qa·m·ïn nï' paγ^{ɛ}i'q·w'aiva' die-plur.-when-them (vis.)-I I go-off-shall; when they die, I shall go off

ɪvä·''amïn· aiḵ· avɪ'χ'umï navɪ''^{a}tsɪŋwï̯A here-them (inv.)-I say lie (sing.-dual)-as-them (vis.) reciprocal-mother-diminutive-plural-obj.; here, I say, as they 2, mother and son, were lying

(c) *Subject (objective form) and object of subordinate clause.* Examples are:

tï^{x}qa'q·aχuA^{x}qaraŋWA eat-plur.-when-it (vis.)-us (inclus.), when we eat it

ųni'χu(w)aq̇·aŋA while he (vis.) was doing it (vis.)

ųni'ŋumɪŋqUcamp̣a·q·amï do-momentaneous-usitative-when-only-it (vis.)-them (vis.), even though they did it customarily

In such cases, however, the objective form of the second person plural is replaced by the subjective, *-ŋwï-* (§ 40), e. g.:

pï̯ŋqa'ųniχaiŋwï'ïmï continuously-do-as-ye-them (inv.), as you (plur.) kept doing so to them

(d) *Subject of main verb and possessive (of nominal object or noun with postposition).* Examples are:

i·'p·iŋwaiarůamɪ' ɥnɪ'k·ᵡA old-husband-obj.- interrogative-thy-thou do, are you doing so to your old husband?

o·'ɑtca·ŋ'aŋA qwï'ï arrow-obj.-preterit-his (vis.)-he (vis.) take, he took his (another's) arrow

o·'ɑtca·ŋaφï qwï'ï arrow-obj.-preterit-he (vis.)-own take, he took his own arrow

qwɪvu'a·m·a·q̇·aŋA qarï'i' top-on-its (vis.)-he (vis.) sits, he sits on top of it

qan·ɪ'va·ŋ'amï pitcï'χwa'aip·ïγa' house-at-his-they (vis.) arrive (sing.-dual)-go-past, at his house they 2 went and arrived

(e) *Possessive and object.* In most of the examples obtained the possessive is attached to a noun + postposition or to a verbal noun in *-n·a-* (of objective force). The enclitic object is either the (direct or indirect) object of the main verb or of a verbal noun (as in relative constructions in *pï-*, see § 45). Examples are:

qU'qwa'm·antï'ïminɪ ma(·)'x·A wood-at-being-thy-me give, give me some of (§ 50, 4, 7) your wood

pïm·a·'ŋa'm uR qwaa·'ŋumpa·nA which-with-him (vis.)-thy it win-momentaneous-future-verbal noun, the wherewith thy being about to beat him, with which you will beat him

pïm·ɑ'ŋwïnɪ qwaγwa·'ŋumpa·n·aŋwïm·inɪ which-with-ye-me win (distributively)-momentaneous-future-verbal noun-your (plur.)-me, with which you (plur.) will beat me (note use of subjective *-ŋwï-* after *pïm·a-* as equivalent to objective *-ŋwïm·i-*; cf. c. above)

pïvʷa''aŋwaφï watcï'k·ain ʷ'u'raip·ïγa' which-at-him (inv.)- own having-put it-toward-went, (he) went to where he had put him

atcɪ'm·'aq·uq·wɑφï yaŋwɪ'ŋwɨ̨nɪχa' bow-with-obj. (§ 49, 1)-it (inv.)-own hold-stand-while, while standing and holding it together with his own bow

taŋa'na·χ'ɪk·waφï mara'ŋɪɬ̨ava' knee-in-it (inv.)-own put-plur.-shall, (ye) shall put it in (your) own knees

This type of construction can be used in relative clauses even with primarily passive participial *-p·ï-* (§ 25, 5, b), e. g.:

pïmʷa'x·qa'am a'Rï tU'tu'tcu(w)ɑp·ï which-with-it (vis.)-their (vis.) it set-as-landmark (distributively)-past passive partic., the (tree) wherewith they had marked it

(f) *Object and object.* Two objects may be employed either when the verb is doubly transitive, as with causatives of transitives, or when it possesses a direct and indirect object. Examples are:

pi̯ni'ɬ·ïiɬ̭·aiq·wanɪ (he) let me see it (inv.)
qatcu'A^{x}qan·u(w)ɑnɪ yu'ɑ'ŋqïqaɪ'ɬuava·ŋwa'^{a} not-it (vis.)-indefinite-me carry-for-resultative-impersonal-shall-negative, let no one hold it for me!
ni̯' *maχa'(i)yïaq̇·amï* I give it (vis.) to them (vis.)
pu'tcu'tcuγwat·uiq̇·wamï know-causative-it (inv.)-them (inv.), cause them to know it, teach them how to do it

(3) Two enclitic pronouns combined with independent pronouns. Many combinations are theoretically possible. The following have been noted:

(a) *Independent subject + enclitic object + enclitic object,* e. g.:

nï'aq̇·aŋA pi̯ni'ɬ·uɬ̭·a' I-it (vis.)-him (vis.) see-cause, I let him see it
maŋa''am·ɪnɪ pA^{z}qa'ŋqïqw'aiŋumpa' he-thee-me kill-for-go-momentaneous-shall, he'll kill you "for" me; he'll kill you, my dear

(b) *Independent object (possessive) + enclitic subject and object,* e. g.:

ni̯'niantca·ŋa'^{a} nïo'ṗ·at·uγw ɥni'ŋ'uŋwA me-past-him (vis.)- thou I-through do-him (inv.), you did so to him through my help
i'i'm·ïar'ua·m·ïram a·'χaŋwantciŋqïmɪɬ̭a' these (anim. obj.)-interrogative-they (anim.)-us 2 (inclus.) hide-from-usitative-perfective, they 2 have always been hiding these (people) from us 2

(4) Uses of three combined enclitic pronouns. The rules of combination can be easily formulated from those already given (see 1 above); e. g. *-aŋ'am·ini-* HE (VIS.)-THEE-ME like *-aŋ'am·i-* and *-' . . .mini-*. The following types of combination have been noted:

(a) *Enclitic subject, first object, and second object,* e. g.:

pA^{z}qa'ŋqïŋumpa·ŋ'am·ɪnɪ he will kill thee for me
maa'intca·ŋa'ŋan nï'nia·ŋA pA'qa'(u)x·U find-preterit-him (vis.)-he (vis.)-me me-him (vis.) kill-subordinating, he found him killing me
a·'χawantciŋqï'yi̯q̇·wamɪ I hide it (inv.) from thee

(b) *Enclitic subject, object, and possessive.* The possessive enclitic generally relates to a second object or to a noun with postposition. Examples are:

pinä'sˑɪχavaa(i)yuaŋ'amˑïφï crotch-at-acting (§ 50, 4, 49)-him (vis.; = them)-they (vis.)-own, from between their own legs they (looked at) them

pɔˑˀɔˑv^{w}aˑq̇ˑaŋanɪ watcï'iˑ trail-at-it (vis.)-his-I put, I put it at his trail

qwaia'ŋqwʌpatcuγwa'qˑwaŋwïnɪ opposite-at-to-its (inv.)-ye-me, on the other side of it you (plur.) (throw) me

(c) *Enclitic possessive (of subject) and two objects*, e. g.:

pɪŋwa'$_{A}{}^{x}$qaˑŋ'aŋ$_{A}$ tɔˑtɔ'pˑ$_{A}{}^{x}$qaˑŋqïpˑïγai(y)aq̇ˑaŋ$_{A}$ wife-it (vis.)-his (vis.)-him (vis.) patch (distributively)-for-past-it (vis.)- him (vis.), his wife patched them (inan.) for him

§ 42. *Post-nominal pronouns.*

Post-nominal pronouns (or article-pronouns) are identical in form with the shorter forms of certain of the independent third personal pronouns (or demonstratives). They are closely attached, though not as phonetically amalgamated enclitics, to preceding nouns, participles, adjectives, numerals, and pronouns, which they serve to make clearly denominating terms. Frequently they hold together a group of two or more words as a denominative unit, in which case they may stand after the first word of the group instead of at the end. They are practically equivalent to postposed articles and are differentiated according to number, visibility and invisibility, animate and inanimate, and, to some extent, case. On the whole, case distinctions are neglected and primarily subjective forms often function also as objectives. This seems to indicate a tendency towards development into true articles. Ordinarily an article-pronoun follows immediately upon the denominating term, but sometimes an intervening enclitic (pronominal or other) element separates the two, e. g.
qana'rïtsɪŋwï'aqˑ umï KANAB-PEOPLE-OBJ.-IT (INV.) THEY (INV.), THE KANAB INDIANS (OBJ.)-IT. The following post-nominal pronouns are in use:

(1) *aŋ$_{A}$* HE: animate visible singular, primarily subjective, e. g.:

yu'oˑ'r$_{A}{}^{x}$qɔpˑɪ'naqˑaɪnaˑŋ aŋ$_{A}$ leg-break-perfective-verbal noun-his (vis.) he (vis.), he whose leg has been broken, the one with a broken leg

nɪaˑ'vɪŋ'waˑmˑ aŋ$_{A}$ their (vis.)-chief he (vis.), their chief

tïγï'v^{w}'ïŋw aŋ$_{A}$ friend-his (inv.) he (vis.), his (inv.) friend (vis.)

cina'ŋwavɪ̈cua'm· ɑŋA tU'cu't·uiy'ïmI coyote-interrogative-thee he (vis.) grind-causative-present-thee, does (the) Coyote cause you to grind (seeds)?

yu'a'rïaq· ɑŋA carry-participle-it (vis.) he (vis.), who carries it away, the carrier of it

am·ï'ŋwant ɑŋA cv·'yuc·U they (vis.)-from-participle he (vis.) one, one of them

The corresponding objective form is also regularly *ɑŋA*, which replaces theoretical *ɑŋa'iA*. Examples are:

pi(y)a'(i)yav ɑŋ ɑŋa'ŋwa'a mother-obj.-own she (vis.; = her) she-with, with his own mother

wantsɪ' ɑŋ ɑŋa''ura' antelope (obj.) he (vis.; = him) he-toward, toward the antelope

marï'c·amp ɑŋqa'q·wa·anaŋ'wantsɪ ɑŋA wï'cɪ'yaa·ŋA piya'IpïγA' that (inan.)-only robin (obj.) he (vis.; = him, his) feathers-his (vis.) remained, only those feathers of the robin were left over

For *ɑŋA* = *amï̈*, see 2 below.

An unexplained variant of *ɑŋA is ɑŋWA*, apparently used only after objective forms, e. g.:

cina'ŋwavɪ(y) ɑŋWA coyote (obj.) he (= him)

pavï'av ɑŋWA piŋwa'iA elder brother-obj.-own he (= him, his) wife (obj.), his own elder brother's wife (obj.)

(2) *amï̈* THEY: animate visible plural, primarily subjective, e. g.:

ɔva'n'naŋqaŋw ɑmï̈ geese they (vis.), the geese

nava'tsɪŋw ɑmï̈ reciprocal-sister-plural they (vis.), the 2 sisters

qanɪ'χantïm^{w} ɑmï̈ house-having-plural they (vis.), the villagers

a'iva(i)yaŋwïn ɑmï̈ companion-plural-my they (vis.), my companions

am·u'c·U waa'(i)y amï̈ to(w)a'tsɪŋwïaŋA they two they (vis.) children-his (vis.); they, his two children

The objective form, theoretically *amï̈'A*, appears regularly as *amï̈*, e. g.:

mam·ï'ac·U tïγɪ'aŋwï amï̈ qanɪ'n·a·χɪ(y)ɑm A^{z}qɔ''iχ·U them (vis.) deer (plur. obj.) they (vis.; = them) house-in-them (vis.) sleep-subordinating; while they, the deer, were sleeping in (the) house

qava·'ŋwï amï̈ horses (obj.) they (vis.; = them), the horses (obj.)

Instead of *amï* (subjective or objective) is sometimes found, by "number dissimilation" (cf. § 40, 4; § 41, 1, e), the corresponding singular *aŋA*. This dissimilation takes place after (sometimes before) animate plural *-m·ï-* or *-ŋwï-* (§ 48, 1) + possessive or objective enclitic pronoun, e. g.:

patcü'ŋwïaŋ aŋA daughters-his (vis.) she (vis.; = they), his daughters
piŋwa'ŋwïam· aŋA wives-their (vis.) she (vis.; = they), their wives
taŋwa'(i)y aŋA niŋwï'a·ŋwïraŋwA us (inclus.) he (vis.; = they) people-our (inclus.), our people
mam·u'c·U mam·a'rinarïm^{w}iam aŋA they (vis.) chasing (distributively)-plural-them (vis.) he (vis.; = they), they who chase them
amï may be optionally employed in these cases.

(3) *iŋA* THIS (ANIM.), HE HERE: animate singular subjective, e. g.:
qwiyα'tsim·a(u)ma'ts ıŋA bear-woman she-here, the bear-woman here
cina'ŋwav iŋA coyote he-here, coyote here

The objective form, *iŋa'iA*, is also found as article-pronoun, e. g.:
cu(w)a'riγık·^{x}Apïγa'aiŋw a'iɸApütsı iŋa'iA nearly-miss-plural-past-him (inv.) youth (obj.) him-here, (they) commenced to miss the youth here (inv.)

(4) *uŋwA* (*'uŋwA*) HE: animate invisible singular, primarily subjective, e. g.:

pavi'n uŋwA elder brother-my he (inv.), my (absent) elder brother
nï'ni uŋwA pi(y)a'nI me she (inv.) mother-my, my (absent) mother
narï'v^{w}ıyan 'aro"avatcï cv·'q·Ucamp̓ uŋwA customarily-I wont-to-have one-obj.-only he (inv.), I am he who is wont to have only one (arrow)
aŋa'v'a·xïaŋ 'uŋwA tA'pu'q·wıtcï he-over-he (vis.; subject of sentence) he (inv.) jumping; he, the one who jumps over him, (will have it). Note that *-aŋ* summarizes, as enclitic subject, *aŋa'v'a·xï- 'uŋwA tA'pu'q·wıtcï*; *'uŋwA* serves as article pronoun of *aŋa'v'a·xï- tA'pu'-q·wıtcï*

As objective form of *uŋwA* is generally found *uŋwA*, e. g.:

cina'ŋwavı(y)an uŋw a'ik·^{x}A coyote-obj.-I he (inv.; = him) say, I say (that) coyote (obj.)
nia·'^{a}vı uŋwA qanı'vaa(u)ŋwI chief (obj.) he (inv.; = him, his) house-in, in the chief's house

pʌ'qa'ŋuntca·ŋanɪ qʊ'tu'c·ɪ uŋwʌ kill-preterit-him (vis.)-I giant (obj.) he (inv.;-him), I have killed the giant

Less frequently the properly objective form, *uŋwa'iʌ*, is used as article pronoun, e. g.:

tïγï'vʷïav uŋwa'i a'ip·ï'ᵛa'aŋwʌ friend-obj.-own him (inv.; = his) say-past passive partic.-obj.-his (inv.), what (obj.) his own friend had said

For *uŋwʌ* as equivalent of plural *umï*, see 5 below.

(5) *umï* THEY: animate invisible plural, primarily subjective, e. g.:

mom·ǫ'ɑŋɥm ïχïr umï fathers-your (plur.) indeed they (inv.), your fathers indeed

It is also used objectively instead of theoretical *umï'ʌ*, e. g.:

qana'rï·tsɪŋwï'aq· umï mam·a'q·ɔ·'mɪpïʌ pʊ'pu'tcutcuγwɑp·ï Kanab-people-obj.-it (inv.) they (inv.) bear-dance (obj.) having-learned (distributively), the Kanab Indians' having learned (the) bear dance

"Number dissimilation" frequently takes place here also; *uŋwʌ* is used instead of *umï* after animate plural *-ŋwï-* + possessive or objective enclitic pronoun, also sometimes after plural *-ŋwï-* alone. Examples are:

inï'a·ŋwïγaɪpïa'am· uŋwʌ relations-past-objective-thy he (inv.; = them), of your dead relations

piŋwa'ŋwïaraŋw uŋwʌ wives-obj.-our she (inv.; = them), our wives (obj.)

sï'ra·m·am·a'ɔtsɪŋwïχ'a·m· uŋwʌ Cedar City-women-then-them (vis.) she (inv.; = they); the Cedar City women, then,-them

ma·'ᵃ'caγwɔitsɪŋw uŋwʌ old-women she (inv.; = they), the old women

(6) *aʀï* IT: inanimate visible subjective, e. g.:

qwʌ'cɪ'(y)aŋ aʀï piya'ɪpïγa' tail-his (vis.) it (vis.) was-left, his tail was left

pa·' aʀï water it (vis.), the water

pi̯nɪ'k̟·aiaq·ʌ tümp a'ʀï look at-it (vis.) rock it (vis.), look at the rock (objects of imperatives are subjective)

taŋwa'i aʀï na'a'it·ui̯k̟·anaraŋwʌ us (inclus.) it (vis.) burn-causative-plural-verbal noun-our (inclus.), the fire that we built

'i'vä·nt aRï here-being it (vis.), what is here
yu'u'n· aRï leg-my it (vis.), my leg

(7) *'a'iA* IT: inanimate visible objective. The corresponding objective form of *aRï* is not ordinarily *aRï* or *arï'A*, as one would have expected, but *'a'iA*, a true demonstrative form (§ 43, 5). Examples are:

quna'i 'aiA fire (obj.) it (vis. obj.), the fire (obj.)
paγa'ŋ'wıa·m 'ai' bowstring-obj.-their (vis.) it (vis. obj.), their bowstrings (obj.)
tïv^{w}i'p·ï 'aiA man·ɔ'q·oaq·A pU'ca'γaip·ïγai(y)aq·A land (obj.) it (vis. obj.) all (obj.)-it (vis.) looked-around-it (vis.), (he) looked around all the land

Far less often *A'qa'iA*, a more properly pronominal form, is used as objective inanimate visible article-pronoun, e.g.:
'atcï'Ax qaiA bow (obj.) it (vis. obj.), the bow (obj.)

(8) *uRï, uRU ('uRï)* IT: inanimate invisible, primarily subjective, e. g.:

ma·'^{a}v'ïŋw uR thing(s)-his (inv.) it (inv.), his things
na'a'int ur anı'k·^{x}A burning it (inv.) does, there is something burning
qan·ı'p·ïv^{w}a·^{a}nt uR camp-past-at-being it (inv.), what is at an abandoned camp, the abandoned camp

It may also be used objectively, instead of theoretical *urï'A, uru'A*, e. g.:

niŋwï'mpıA tï'qa'va·n'aŋ^{w} uR liver (obj.) eat-will-verbal noun-his (inv.) it (inv.); liver (obj.), the one he will eat; the liver which he is to eat

(9) *'ɔa'iA* IT: inanimate invisible objective. The exact invisible correspondent of *'aiA* (7 above) is *'ɔa'iA, 'wa'iA*, a properly demonstrative form (§ 43, 5). It seems to be more frequently used than objective *uRï*. Examples are:

qanı'va'aŋ'w ɔa'i' house-at-his (inv.) it (inv. obj.), at his house
pU'tcu'tcuγwap·ïγa'aik·w aŋqa'q·wıcarï 'ɔa'iA understood-it (inv.) lightning (obj.) it (inv. obj.), (he) knew about the lightning
quna'ian 'ɔai uw^{w}a''a·χ ^{a}'a'p·ı'qov^{w}a' fire-obj.-I it (inv. obj.) it-over will-lean-back-and-forth, I will lean back and forth over the fire

Related to *ʻɔa'iA* as *Aˣqa'iA* is to *ʻa'iA* (7 above) is *Uˣqwa'iA*, which is also not infrequently used as inanimate invisible objective article-pronoun. Examples are:

niŋwï'mpɪ Uˣqwa'iʻ tïˣqa'p·ïγa'aik·WA liver (obj.) it (inv. obj.) ate-it (inv.), (he) ate the liver

Aʻsɪ'a(i)ya'q·W Uʻqwa'iʻ maru''ᵘmiŋUpïγa'aik·WA bark-obj.-its (inv.) it (inv. obj.) pulled-it (inv.)-off, (he) pulled off its bark

§ 43. *Demonstrative pronouns.*

There are four demonstrative stems, as already noted (§ 39, 1): *a-* THAT (indefinite); *i-*, *ʲi-* THIS; *ma-*, *mʷa'-* THAT (visible; referred to); and *u-*, *ʷu'-* that (invisible). These stems are not directly used as independent demonstratives (except for rather infrequently employed adverbs: *a·*, *ma·ʻ*; see § 60, 2, d; 3), but need to be combined with other elements. The following types of demonstrative usage may be recognized:

(1) DEMONSTRATIVE STEMS FOLLOWED BY POSTPOSITIONS. These are extremely common and correspond, in function, to inanimate demonstrative pronoun + postposition. Examples are:

ava'ʻ that-at, there (indefinite)
aru'q·WA that-under, under it
maru'x·WA that (vis.)-to, to it
mava''anA that (vis.)-on, on it
mʷa'vaʻ that-at, there (not far away)
ɪ(y)ɛ'nU this-at, here, present (< *i- a'n·u-*)
'i'väʻ this-at, here
'i'Upa'ᵃ this-through, in this direction
uvʷa'ʻ, *'u'vʷaʻ* that (inv.)-at, there (inv.)
o·'p·a'ᵃ (< *u-u'p·a'ᵃ*), *ᵒ'o'x·pa'ᵃ* (< *'u'-up·a'ᵃ*) that (inv.)-through, in yonder direction

(2) DEMONSTRATIVE STEMS + THIRD PERSON PRONOMINAL ELEMENTS. These forms function as independent third personal pronouns (§ 39, 1); as article-pronouns (§ 42); and as enclitic third personal pronouns (§ 40, 1). There is nothing further to be said about them here except to note once more that these personal demonstratives often preserve their proper demonstrative force.

(3) VERBS OF DOING. These are nothing but derivatives in *-n·i-* (§ 26, 2, b) of the demonstrative stems. The idea of DOING, ACTING fre-

quently passes over into that of HAVING SOMETHING HAPPEN TO ONE, BEING. The verbs of doing are: *an·i-* TO DO (indefinitely); *man·i'-*, *$m^{w}a'n·i$-* TO DO (as indicated); *in·i'-*, *'i'n·i-* TO DO IN THIS MANNER; *un·i-'*, *'u'n·i-* TO DO IN THAT (narrated, unseen) MANNER. Examples of these verbs are:

ani'χw'aip·ïγa' do-went, went in order to do
i(y)ε'nuan 'anɪ'n'nɪ' here-I do-continuative-present, here I am
aχa'n·iχai 'ani'k·ᶻA tʊ'cu'xwa' how-act-subordinating-thou so-do grinding? why are you doing so, grinding? why are you engaged in grinding?
man·i'ḵ·aŋuya·q·A do-plural-momentaneous-plural imperative-it (vis.), do (plur.) it in that way (as described)!
manɪ'mɪkup·ïγa' do-moving-inceptive-past, (he) started to do that while in motion
qatcu'aq· $^{u}m^{w}$α'n·ɪa'ap·A not-it (vis.) do-negative, don't do that!
$^{u}m^{w}$α'nɪva·nt ɥwaru'$^{''α}$ that-do-future-participle he-is, he is about to act in that manner, he'll be doing so
in·i'ŋuya·q·A this-do-momentaneous-dual imperative-it (vis.); do it this way, you 2!
'i'nimiʌcampanïm^{w}I this-do-travel (plur.)-only-we (exclus.), only this we do when traveling
ɥnɪ'm·ɪmpa·n·ɪanI do-usitative-future-I, I shall be wont to do
tcaγɪ'p· ɥnɪ'ŋʊpïγa' near did, (it) got near
'u'n·ɪvä·p·I do-future-passive partic., about to be done to

In their absolute form verbs of doing frequently function as adverbs of manner. In this capacity they may be combined with forms of similar morphology that serve as verbs of doing. Examples are:

a'n·ɪ in that (indef.) way
man·i'ntca·ŋan ɥni'ŋU thus-preterit-him- I do-momentaneous, I did so (as described) to him
$^{u}m^{w}$α'n·ɪaŋ 'a'ik·ᶻA in that way he said
i'n·I in this way
ɥnɪ'c·ʉn·ɪA thus-again-like, just as before
ɥnic· an·ɪ'p·ïγa' thus-again did, acted in the same way, did the same thing
^{u}'u'n'NI in that (inv.) way

(4) SUBSTANTIVE VERBS. From the demonstrative stems *a-* and

u- are formed the verbs of being: *aro'a-* TO BE (VIS.) and *uru'a-* TO BE (INV.). See § 56, 1.

(5) *ai-*, *mai-*. These are extended forms of demonstrative *a-* and *ma-*. They are used as independent inanimate demonstrative pronouns, particularly with verbs of saying, (talking, hearing). However, they are not ordinarily found except followed by pronominal enclitics. Their objective forms are *aia-*, *maia-* (probably < *a-ya-*, *ma-ya-*). As to usage, *ai-* is best translated as THAT (indefinite), *mai-* as THAT (quoted, referred to).

Examples of subjective *ai-* are:

a'inɪ naŋqa'q·aip·ïnɪ that-my heard (partic.)-my, that (is) what I heard

a'i(y)aq·ʌ qʊ'qo'q·wɪɬanaŋum aʀï that-it (vis.) shoot (distributively)-plural-verbal noun-your (plur.) it (vis.), that (is) it which you (plur.) shoot at

Examples of objective *aia-* are:

a'ian 'a'imɪ' that (obj.)-I say- usitative, that's what I always say

a'ia·ŋ gïr 'a'imɪ' that (obj.)-he (vis.) indeed say-usitative, that's what he indeed always says

'a'i ïγïr 'aik·ɤʌ that (obj.)-thou indeed said, that indeed you said (for *'ai* < *'aia'*, see § 40, 2)

Curiously enough, objective *aia-* becomes *ai-* before the interrogative, the two elements combining as *aitcu'a-*, *aintcu'a-*, e. g.:

a'iʈcuan (or *a'inʈcuan*) *a'ik·ɤʌ* that (obj.)-interrogative-I said, did I say that?

a'inʈcua·ŋ 'a'imɪ' that (obj.)-interrogative-he (vis.) say-usitative, is he wont to say that? does he really mean that?

Subjective *mai-* is illustrated in:

ma'in nïni naŋqa'q·aip·ïnɪ that (quoted)-my me heard (partic.)-my, that's what I heard

mai'm imi naŋqa'q·ainʌ that-thy thee hearing, that's what you hear

Examples of objective *maia-* are:

ma'ian 'aik·ɤʌ that I say

ma'i(y) ïγïr 'a'ik·ɤʌ that indeed thou sayest (*mai* < *maia'* as above)

Parallel to *maia-* is *mʷa'ia-*, e. g.:

m^{w}a'i$_{A}$campa·^{a}ŋ 'aik·^{x}$_{A}$ that (obj.)-only-he say, that's all he says
^{u}m^{w}a'i$_{A}$campan niruγw ampa'x·$_{A}$ that -(obj.)-only-me I-to talk, that only talk to me! stop talking to me!

As we have already seen, *aia-* is also used as inanimate visible objective article-pronoun: *'a'i$_{A}$* (§ 42, 7). Its parallel invisible *'ɔa'i$_{A}$* (probably < *u-a-ya-*) is not used as independent demonstrative, though it must be such in origin. For adverbial-connective use of *ai-*, see § 60, 2, a; for *'ɔa'i$_{A}$* as modal adverb, see § 60, 3.

(6) VERBS OF SAYING. Parallel to the demonstratives *ai-* and *mai-* are the verbs of saying: *ai-* TO SAY (indefinitely) and *mai-* (*m^{w}a'ia-*) TO SAY THAT (which has been quoted); e. g. *qatc ^{u}m^{w}a'iaŋwai'yuc·ampa* NOT SAY-THAT-NEGATIVE-SUBORDINATING-ONLY, ALTHOUGH NOT SAYING THAT. Either these verbs result from composition with demonstrative *a-*, *ma-* (*m^{w}a'-*); or they are merely verbified forms of demonstrative *ai-* and *mai-*.

Note on § § 39–43.

The three classes of pronouns already discussed observe the distinction in the third person between visible (or present) and invisible (or absent) forms. Nevertheless sentences occur, as may have been noticed, in which the same person or object is designated now as visible, now as invisible. To a large extent this seems to be due to a desire to prevent the same phonetic group ("word") from containing both a visible and an invisible element (see, for combinations of two enclitics, § 41, 1, e), but not entirely. Apparently the difference between the two sets of forms tends to become a formal rather than a strictly functional matter. Examples of such contradictory sentences are:

imi'ntcu'a·ŋ$_{A}$ pïni'^{x}$_{A}$·ai'iŋw$_{A}$ tïγï'v^{w}ïa'm u'ŋw$_{A}$ thou-interrogative-him (vis.) see-him (inv.) friend-obj.-thy he (inv.; = him), did you see your friend (inv.)?

tɔγ^{w}ɔ'i$_{MU}$^{z}taq·aŋ'wαŋq̇uŋw$_{A}$ qU'qwι't·ua·ŋ$_{A}$ right-forehead-on-obj.-his (inv.) shoot-impersonal-him (vis.), (if) anybody shoots him right on his forehead

tava'i$_{A}$ m^{w}α'va·q·$_{A}$ qarï'q̇·uq·w$_{A}$ sun (obj.) there-it (vis.) sit-when-it (inv.), when the sun sets there

§ 44. *Interrogative pronouns.*

Interrogative stems may be divided into two groups, those employed denominatively (interrogative pronouns proper) and those employed

adverbially or serving as base for adverbial forms. They are not accompanied by the interrogative enclitic *-ru'a-* (§ 19, 2, f).

(1) DENOMINATIVE FORMS. Four or five denominative stems are found: *aŋa-*, *in·i-*, *impï-*, and *an·ıa-*; further *aγa-*, which is always verbalized or adverbialized by suffixed elements.

(a) *aŋa-* WHO? This interrogative refers to persons only. Its objective form is *aŋaia-*; its subjective plural is *aŋam·ï-* (see § 48, 1), objective *aŋam·ïa-*. It must not be confused with *aŋa-* HE, THAT ONE (§ 39). It is perhaps to avoid this confusion that interrogative *aŋa-* is apparently never used with postpositions; e. g. *aŋa'rux·wA* denotes TO HIM, not TO WHOM?. The latter idea would have to be expressed periphrastically (see § 50, 3). Examples of *aŋa-* are:

aŋ aru''a who is? who is it?
aŋ aro''avï iŋA who would-be this-one? I wonder who this is!
'aŋ an·ï'k·ẓA who does-so? who is it that does so?
aŋ aiḵ· ampa'χaχa' who says talking? who is that talking? (referring to one who is heard but not seen)
aŋa'i aro''a whom (= whose) is? whose is it? (contrast *aŋa'iac· aro''a* it is his)
aŋai uŋwa'rux·wA whom he (inv.)-to? to whom?
aŋam· aro''a who (plur.) are? who are they?
aŋa'm·ïantca' pAˣqa'ŋU whom (plur.)- preterit-thou kill? whom (2) did you kill?

(b) *in·i-ˢ* WHO? WHAT? OF WHAT SORT? This is a generalized animate interrogative pronoun, referring to an animal, an animate being not known to be definitely human or animal, or a person of undefined characteristics. Subjective *in·i-* sometimes appears as unelided *in·i* before *aro'a-* TO BE. Its objective singular is *in·ia-*; subjective plural *in·iŋwï-* (see § 48, 1), objective *in·iŋwïa-*. Examples are:

in· aro' i'ŋA what is this (anim.)?
in·i aro''a what is it (anim.)?
in·ï'ntcan nïŋwu'runI who-preterit-me person-make-me? who ever made me a peron? who ever respected me?
in·iŋw aro''a what (plur.) are? what are they (animals)?
ini'ŋwï aro''a what (plur. obj.) are? to what (animals) does it belong?

(c) *impï-ˢ* WHAT (inanimate); objective *impïa-*. In all probability *impï-* is connected with *in·i-*; for *-pï-* see nominalizing suffix *-p·ï-*, § 25,

5, b? *impï-* may be used with at least certain postpositions (e. g. *-m·a-* WITH); it may also be used as a nominal base for verbal derivatives, e. g. *impï'γai-* TO HAVE WHAT? *impuru-* TO MAKE WHAT? Examples of *impï-* are:

imp aro''ᵃ what is it (vis.)?
imp̣ uru''ᵅ what is it (inv.)?
impï'a·ŋᴀ tï'qa'va' what (obj.)-he (vis.) eat-shall? what will he eat
impï'ma' tïγa'n·ιva·n·ι' what-with-thou butcher-will? what will you butcher with?
impï'xai' what hast thou?
impu'ruγïaŋᴀ what is he making?

(d) *an·ia-* WHAT? This interrogative is used only as the object of verbs of saying or mental activity, e. g.:

'anï'αn 'aik·ˣᴀ what-I say? what did I say?
im an·ι'ᴀ nɔn·ɔ'c·ιvätcï thou what being-wont-to-dream? what have you ever dreamt?
anι'a' cyma·'i' what-thou think-present? what are you thinking of?

Aside from its use as an interrogative pronoun, *an·ia-* frequently appears as a verb, TO SAY WHAT? As such it is treated analogously to *ai-* TO SAY. Examples are:

im 'anï'avatcï thou wont-to-say-what? what are you accustomed to say?
an·ι'ᴀˣqa·ŋᴀ what did he (vis.) say? (for *-q·a-* see § 32, 2)
'an·ι'axai' a'ik·ˣᴀ say-what-subordinating-thou say-so? for what reason do you say so?
anι'aŋuntcα' nïru'x·ᴡᴀ say-what-momentaneous-preterit-thou I-to? what did you say to me?

With enclitic *-n·ia-* LIKE (§ 19, 2, d) this verb means TO CARE FOR WHAT? e. g. *nï' anι'ᴀˣqanι'* WHAT DO I CARE? With enclitic *-c·u-* AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k) and followed by *ai-* TO SAY, pronominal *'an·ia-* denotes TO TEASE, e. g. *'anï'ᴀcyŋwïn a'iḵ·amι'* WHAT-AGAIN-YE-ME SAY-PLURAL-USITATIVE? YE ARE WONT TO TEASE ME.

(2) ADVERBIAL FORMS. Three interrogative stems are included under this head: *aγa-*, *'an·ɔq·ɔ-*, and *ai-*.

(a) *aγa-* HOW? WHAT? This is properly a denominating stem meaning WHAT? but it occurs only with postpositions or as verbified *aγan·i-* TO ACT HOW? parallel to other verbs of doing in *-n·i-* (§ 43, 3). Examples of *aγa-* with postpositions are:

aγa'va' what-at? where?
axa'va·ntux·wA where to?
aγa'uṗa'a in which direction? in what way?

Verbal examples of *aγa'n·i-* TO ACT HOW? TO DO WHAT? are:

axa'n·ιwa·ŋanI how shall I act with him (vis.)? what shall I do to him?
aγa'n·ɪᶻx̣a·ŋA what did he (vis.) do?
aγa'n·ιŋutsιŋw' a'ik·ᶻA what-do-momentaneous-gerund (§ 55, 1, a)-he (inv.) say-so? having done what, he says so? what happened to him that he says so?

Analogously to other forms in *-n·i-*, *aγan·i-* is often in use as an adverb of manner, HOW? e. g.:

ᵘmʷa'r aro''avï aγa'n ani'ntcï that (inan. vis.) would-be how doing? I wonder what that means!
axa'n·intca·ŋa'a pAᶻqa'ŋoaŋA how-preterit-him-thou kill-him? how did you kill him?

Subordinates in *-γai-* (§ 55, 1, b) of verbal *aγan·i-* are equivalent to WHY? e. g.:

aχα'n·iχaiam 'an·ι'm·i' what-do-subordinating-they (vis.) do-usitative? acting how, are they wont to do so? why do they do so?
axa'n·ιχain·ι' a'ik·ᶻA what-do-subordinating-me-thou say? why do you say so to me?

(b) *'an·ɔq·ɔ-* WHEN? e. g.:

'an·ɔ'q·ɔχwaŋ'wan ụni'k·ᶻA when-preterit-he (inv.)-me do so? when did he do so to me?
'an·ɔ'q·ɔχwan·ι' ụnι'k·ᶻA when didst thou do so to me?

(c) *ai-* (TO BE) WHERE? (TO DO) WHAT? This verbal interrogative is perhaps a specialized form of adverbial *ai-* THEN (§ 60, 2, a), itself of demonstrative origin. It is always followed by preterital *-tca-*, even when reference is had to present time. Examples are:

a'iťcaŋwA where is he (inv.)?
a'itcaram v·'vʷai' where-preterit-we 2 (inclus.) then? where have we 2 got now?
a'iťcaŋwa' ïŋa·''p·ιtsι uŋwA what-preterit-him (inv.)-thou baby (obj.) he (inv.; = him)? what did you do to the baby?

§ 45. *The relative pronoun.*

The Paiute relative pronoun, *pï-*, can be used only with postpositions; e. g. *pïma-* WITH WHICH, *pu'urai-* WHERETO, WHITHER, *pïv^{w}a·-* IN WHICH, WHERE. The equivalent of our own subjective and objective relative clauses is afforded by participles and verbal nouns in *-n·a-* (§ 25, 3). Properly speaking, *pï-* is a noun, as is shown by the fact that it is frequently followed by an inanimate article-pronoun. The verb following the relative is generally in the form of a verbal noun in *-n·a-*, less frequently in the form of a participle in *-p·ï-* (§ 25, 5, b), rarely a non-participial absolute; hence the logical subject of a relative clause is always objective (i. e. possessive) in form. A sentence like THIS IS THE STICK THAT I HIT HIM WITH is rendered by THIS IS THE STICK WITH WHICH (IS) MY HITTING (OR HAVING HIT) HIM. Examples of relative clauses are:

itcï'a·q·A nï'nɪ pïv^{w}a‘ qarï'n·anɪ this (inan. obj.)-it (vis.) me which-in sitting-my, this is where I stay

pïma'(u)ϕï na'uq·wɪŋquť·u'ava·nA which-with-own fight-future-verbal noun, (he made many shirts) with which he was to fight

pu'u'rainɪ nï'ni ɳi'nanɪ which-toward-my me doing-my, to where I am going

marï'c·U pïv^{w}a.iyuam aR kia'q·AqainA that (inan.) which-at-acting (§ 50, 4, 49)-their (vis.) it (vis.) dance-plural-perfective-verbal noun, that (is) the (place) where they danced

^{u}'u'rï'a·q·A pïv^{w}a·'ntïm^{w}anaŋqwan anɪ'p·ïnɪ that (inan. inv. obj.)-it (vis.) which-at-participle-from-my do-past passive partic.-my, that is where I came from

ya·'c·pïγa‘ pu'u'raiv ɳɪŋ ^{u}'u'ra‘ flew-off which-toward-own do-momentaneous it (inv.)-toward, (they) flew off to where they go to

Note that in the last example the absolute verb form *ɳɪŋu-* is treated as a noun, as shown by the possessive *-v(ï)-* preceding it.

§ 46. *Reflexive pronouns.*

The reflexive stem in Paiute is *na-^{s}*. This never occurs alone, but is always either compounded with a following stem (see § 22) or followed by a postposition, e. g.:

na'up·aya·ŋA mam·a'‘ self-like-plural imperative-him (vis.) change (distributively), do ye change him into your own appearance

naŋwa'ntux·wA pa'iχa‘ self-on-to call-subordinating, while calling (them) on to himself

na'u(w)a'mek· ɥnɪŋuts· watcɪ'm'mɪap·ïγa' self-in front of-them (inan. inv.) then put-moving-past, then (he) put them in front of himself while moving along

navɪ'naŋqwɔp̣·aq·wA yuna'p·ïγa' self-behind-them (inan. inv.) put down-past, (he) put them down behind himself

a'ip·ïγa a'ip·ats an (= *aŋA*) *naru'x·wA* said boy he (vis.) self-to, said the boy to himself

As in compounds, so also with postpositions, *na-* may have a reciprocal significance, e. g.:

navɪ'n·aŋqwA self-after, one after another

naŋwa''ai- self-with, with each other, both (§ 50, 4, 11)

An independent reflexive or emphatic pronoun, related to *na-*, also occurs: *nan·ɔ·'-c·u-* (subjective); objective apparently *nan·ɔ·'rïa-c·u-* (cf. perhaps *nɨ̈niac·u-* MYSELF obj.). An example of *nan·ɔ·'c·u-* is:

nan·ɔ·'ɔc·o'oq·w ɥwa'ruγwap·ïγa'aik·wA self-it (inv.) him-to-past-it (inv.), he himself gave it to him

An indirect reflexive *nan·ɔ·'ϕ* SELF (compounded probably of *nan·ɔ·-* and *-va-* AT, § 50, 4, 37) also occurs, e. g.:

nan·ɔ'ɔv ɥni'ŋkïpïγa' self-at (?) make-for-past, (he) made (it) for himself

NOUN MORPHOLOGY (§ § 47–50).

§ 47. *Noun and verb stem.*

All Paiute stems end in a vowel or diphthong. A peculiarity of the great majority of noun and verb stems is that they are primarily disyllabic, e. g. *qan·i-s* HOUSE; *ïɪvwi-g* EARTH; *at·a-s* SAND; *paγ(a)i-n* TO GO; *qarï-s* TO SIT; *paq·a-s* TO KILL. The typical monosyllabic stem (or radical) of so many languages is conspicuous by its comparative infrequency; moreover, practically all monosyllabic stems have two moras, e. g. *qa·-s* TO SING, *pai-s* TO CALL *to·-g* BLACK, *o·-s* ARROW, *paï-g* BLOOD. If expressed in terms of moras, the typical Paiute stem would probably be found to have two moras, i. e. to consist of a monosyllable with a long vowel or diphthong, or, far more frequently, of two short-voweled syllables. However, disyllabic stems of three moras (e. g. *tuγv·-* TO CACHE, *ïina·-* BOTTOM) are not at all rare. Trisyllabic stems, of three or more moras (e. g. *as·ia·-* SURFACE, *tɔγɔq·wi-* TO RUN), are also fairly common; stems of four or more

syllables are rare (e. g. *tïv^{w}itsiɣa-* TO OBEY). Were extended comparative Uto-Aztekan material available, it would no doubt be possible to show that many of these trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems are capable of analysis. The two-moraed stem ending in a vowel, of both monosyllabic and disyllabic structure, is clearly the characteristic type of stem for all Uto-Aztekan languages.

Noun and verb stems are kept clearly distinct, the use of the same stem now as noun, now as verb, being exceedingly uncommon. An example is *quq·wa-* WOOD, also TO GATHER WOOD (cf. English BERRY and TO BERRY); note also *ni(y)a-* (two-moraed) TO CALL BY NAME, but *ni(y)a·-* (three-moraed) NAME (it is quite possible, however, that *niya·-* really consists of *niya-* + possessive *-a-*, § 24, 2, a so that *niya-* would be another example of a stem capable of being used either as noun or verb).

From a strictly formal standpoint, noun and verb are, as we have seen, carefully distinguished, there being very few grammatical elements which are appended to both types of stem (e. g. diminutive *-tsɪ-*, § 35; plural *-q·a-*, § 31, 1, c and § 48, 2). However, there is a slight tendency for verbs to be nominalized, without nominalizing suffix, by means of nominal postpositions, but forms of this sort are far from common (e. g. *pïv^{w}a wïnɪ'k̲·aip·a·ntux·wA* WHICH-IN STAND-PERFECTIVE-TO, TO WHERE (HE) HAD STOOD); see § 55, 2. The clearest syntactic indication of a feeling for nominal form is the presence of article-pronouns (§ 42).

§ 48. *Plurality of nouns.*

There are two types of noun plurals: the reduplicated form, which is more properly distributive in function, for both animate and inanimate nouns (see § 58, 2 for these forms); and properly plural suffixes, which can, for the most part, be appended only to noun stems referring to animate beings (cf. the presence of singular and plural animate forms and the lack of distinctively plural inanimate forms in the third personal pronouns).

(1) ANIMATE PLURAL SUFFIXES. Two animate plural suffixes exist, *-ŋwï-*^{s} and *-m·ï-*^{s}, with exactly parallel functions and differentiated merely according to the preceding stem. These elements apply to duals also. *-ŋwï-* is evidently spirantized from an older *-mï-* (§ 16, 1); *-m·ï-* is the corresponding geminated (and nasalized) form. Their Uto-Aztekan prototype **-me* actually occurs as an animate plural in Nahuatl (*-mè*). In actual practice it seems hardly

feasible to assign *-ŋwï-* to spirantizing stems alone, *-m·ï-* definitely to all geminating (and nasalizing) stems, as their range of usage seems to intercross with that of types of stem; thus, nominal *-tsɪ-*^{n} (§ 24, 1, f) forms plural *-tsɪŋwï-*, while participial *-tï-*^{n} (§ 25, 6) forms *-tïm·ï-*. No simple rules can therefore be given for the use of *-ŋwï-* or *-m·ï-*.

(a) *-m·ï-* (subjective); *-m·ïa-* (objective). Examples are:

naγa'mï mountain sheep (sing. *na'x·A*)
qA^{x}qa'ramï quails (sing. *qA^{x}qa'RÏ*)
tcïγa'mï ducks (sing. *tcï'x·A*)
a(i)ya'mï turtles (sing. *a'ɪA*)
WÏ'tca'mï roadrunners (sing. *wï't·cA*)
a'ivam·ïraŋWA our (inclus.) young men (sing. *a'iɸApïts·* young man)
yu·'t·a·mï Utes (sing. *yu·'t·a·ts·*; plur. also *yu·'t·a·tsɪŋwï*)

In the last two examples a nominalizing suffix of the singular (*-p·ïtsɪ-*, *-tsɪ-*) has been dropped before the plural suffix. This is not common; but cf., further, *sari·'t·Ï'qamï* ARAPAHO INDIANS (lit. DOG-EAT-PLURAL, noun-verb compound noun; sing. *sari·'t·Ï'qats·*).

Animate plural *-m·ï-* is also appended to cardinal *-yu-* of numerals for TWO and above, when used attributively with enclitic *-n·ɪa-*, before animate nouns, e. g.:

waa'(i)yumun·ɪ WI'tsɪ'tsɪŋwïaŋA two-cardinal-animate plur.-like great-grandchildren-plural-her (vis.), her two great-grandchildren.

(b) *-ŋwï-* (subjective); *-ŋwïa-*, *ŋwa(·)-* (objective). The objective in *-ŋwa(·)-* is very common; it is merely a phonetic variant of *-ŋwïa-* (see § 4, 1, a). Examples of subjective *-ŋwï-* are:

nava'vɪŋwï reciprocal-elder brother-plural, two brothers (sing. *pavi'nɪ* my elder brother)
paa'ŋwï aunts; *paa'ŋwïnɪ* my aunts (sing. *paa'nɪ* my aunt)
qava·'ŋwï horses (sing. *qava'*)
qam·ï'ŋwï jack-rabbits (sing. *qa'mï*)
tïγɪ'aŋwï deer (sing. *tïγɪ'A*)
aiä't·aŋwï Coconino Indians (sing. *aiä't·A*)
mǫ·'munɪŋwï Mormons (sing. *mǫ·'munɪ*)

Examples of objective forms are:

nï' puŋqu'ŋwïɑnɪ qɔγɔ''i I horses-obj.-my kill (plur. obj.), I kill my horses

nï' *MU^{x}qwɪ'χaγw'aivä·nɪ nï'ni tu(w)a'tsɪŋwα'* I call-for-help-go-will-I me children-obj., I will go to call my children for help

patci'ŋwa·v ɥmu'rux·wA daughter-obj.-own they (inv.)-to, to his own daughters

The use of animate plurals for singulars conceived of as singled out from a group has been already discussed in connection with participles in *-tï-m·ï-* (§ 25, 6, f). This same usage applies to many animate plurals in *-ŋwï-* as well, e. g.:

pina'p·ïtsɪŋw αŋA smallest-plur. he (vis.), the smallest (boy) of all

nï' ɔvi'mpimpin·ara'pïtsɪŋWï I very-least-plur., I (am the) very least in size (of my family)

qam·ï' *ɔvɪ'nťuαq·wɔiṗ·ɪŋwï'* jack-rabbit (obj.) (hair)-having-come-off-moving-plur. (obj.), jack-rabbit (obj.) with hair having come off from dragging along (referring to one particular animal out of several)

(2) PLURAL *-q·a-*. This suffix has been already discussed as a verb element defining plurality of the subject (§ 31, 1, c). It occurs, though not frequently, also in the inanimate noun before objective *-ya-* (§ 49, 1), postpositive *-ma-* WITH (§ 50, 4, 9), and possibly other post-positions to emphasize the plurality (as contrasted with duality) of an attached enclitic possessive pronoun. It does not, therefore, primarily indicate plurality of the noun itself, though this may be implied. Examples are:

tïv^{w}ɪ'p·ïαq·a(i)yaŋumɪ country-possessive-plural-objective-your (plur.), your (plur.) country (obj.) that (you) own

tïγa'n·ïmpïq·ama·mï seed-beater-plural-with-their (vis.), with their (plur.) seed-beater(s)

§ 49. *Syntactical cases.*

Paiute recognizes two fundamental syntactical cases, the subjective and objective. The former of these is in use as the subject of a non-subordinate verb; the object of an imperative (see § 52); and as a base for the affixing of postpositions (see § 50). The objective is the case of the object of a transitive verb; the subject of a subordinate verb (see § 55, 1); the genitive (possessive); and the apposition to a noun with postposition (see § 50, 3).

(1) FORMATION OF SYNTACTICAL CASES. The subjective case is simply the absolutive, the unmodified noun with no specific case

suffix. The objective is formed by suffixing *-a-* to the final vowel of the noun, if this vowel is *i*, *ï*, *ɔ*, or *u* (*o*); *-ya-* (*-ia-*) if the final vowel is *a*. Examples are:

SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
sari·'ts· dog (< *-tsɪ-*)	*sari·'tsɪ'* (< *-tsɪa-*)
aŋqa'q·wɪcaʀï lightning	*aŋqa'q·wɪcaʀïa*
uˣqwɪ'yu' arrow (< *uˣqwɪ'yv·-*)	*uˣqwɪ'yuu'* (< *uˣqwɪ'yv·a-*)
qanɪ'nɪ my house	*qanɪ'anɪ*
qanɪ'aŋa his (vis.) house	*qanɪ'a·ŋa*
quna'vï''ïmɪ thy sack	*quna'vïa'amɪ*
pa·' water	*paa'ia*
paa'ramɪ our (2 inclus.) aunt	*paa'iaramɪ*
nampa·'ŋa his (vis.) leg (stem *nampa-*)	*nampa'ia·ŋa*

Another objective suffix, *-q·u-*, *-ŋqu-*, is used after numeral stems (see § 59, 2, a) and after certain postpositions (e. g. *-ma-*, *-ŋwa-* ON; *-ŋwa'ai-* TOGETHER WITH; *-mpa·-*AT; *-up̣·a-* THROUGH; see § 50, 4); cf. also adverbial *tï·ŋqu-* (§ 30, 2, b).

(2) USE OF SYNTACTICAL CASES. The subjective as a subject and the objective as a transitive object are so plentifully illustrated in the course of this paper that no further examples need be given here. The other uses of the subjective will be illustrated below (§ 52; § 50), also the use of the object as the subject of a subordinate verb (§ 55, 1).

The genitive function of the objective is seen, e. g., in:

tïvʷɪ'p·ï' *qïŋwa·'ᵃva·ᵃntï'* land (obj.) edge-at-participle (obj.), being (obj.) at (the) edge of (the) land

ɥwa'rï' *tu(w)a'tsɪŋwï* rain (obj.) children, Rain's children

Often with pleonastic use of a pronominal enclitic, e. g.:

cina'ŋwavɪ ɥntu'q̣·uŋwa coyote (obj.) back-flesh-his (inv.), Coyote's back flesh

qanɪ''aŋw u'u'ra' *paa'(i)yaφï* (he went) house-obj.-her it-toward aunt-obj.-own, (he went) toward his aunt's house

While the subjective form is used as a base for the suffixing of a postposition, the form is felt as the equivalent of an objective, as appositions to such nouns or pronouns are regularly put in the objective, e. g. *wantsɪ' aŋ aŋa''ura'* ANTELOPE (OBJ.) HE (VIS.; = HIM) HE-

TOWARD, TOWARD THE ANTELOPE. Such periphrastic forms are extremely common (see § 50, 3).

The sporadic subjective use of objective forms of independent personal pronouns in certain not clearly understood cases has been already mentioned (§ 39, 4, end).

§ 50. *Postpositions.*

Paiute possesses a large number of postpositions or, as one might prefer to call them, non-syntactical case suffixes. They are chiefly, but not entirely, of local reference. They are true suffixes (or compounded stems that have practically become suffixes), as shown by the fact that they precede all enclitics and that, under appropriate consonantal conditions, they are subject to the phonetic processes of spirantization, gemination, and nasalization (e. g. *-ruγwa-*, *-tcuγwa-*, *-ntcuγwa-*, *-t·uγwa-*, *-ntuγwa-* TO). The position of the postposition thus corresponds to that of the objective (§ 49). Postpositions are suffixed to nouns, pronouns (except, of course, enclitic pronouns and postnominal pronouns), and demonstrative stems (treated as the equivalent of inanimate third personal pronouns).

(1) TYPES OF POSTPOSITIONS. Etymologically, three types may be recognized. A considerable number consist of simple elements that cannot be brought into connection with other Paiute elements, e. g. *-va·-*, *-va-* AT; *-up̣·a-* THROUGH, IN — DIRECTION; *-ma-* WITH. Some of these seem to go back to Uto-Aztekan prototypes; with *-va-* cf., e. g., Nahuatl *-pa*. A number of simple postpositions seem to occur only or chiefly as compounded with others, e. g. *-γi-*, *-ŋwi-*, *-'aγa-*.

A second type of postposition is that compounded of two (or more) postpositional elements. These may either be independently occurring elements (e. g. *-vaŋwit·uγwa-* INTO < *-vaŋwi-*^{g} IN plus *-tuγwa-* TO) or an independently occurring postposition preceded or followed by one not so occurring (e. g. *-ŋwi-t·uγwa-* INTO; *-'aγa-va-tcuγwa-* RIGHT INTO; *-ruq·wa·-γi-* MOVING UNDER). Several postpositions that now appear primitive are quite probably really compounded of simpler elements, e. g. *-vaŋwi-* IN < *-va-* AT + *-ŋwi-*.

A third type consists of originally independent stems, chiefly adverbial and nominal, that are compounded in a postpositional sense with preceding stems (cf. English AROUND, ASIDE FROM, APART FROM, ALONG). Such compounds are often followed by a primitive postposition, e. g. *nï-γa'nιχa·-va·-* I-SIDE-AT, AT MY SIDE < *qa'nι'χa·-* SIDE. That *-γa'nιχa·-va·-* is a true compound postposition is shown

by its employment with a pronominal stem like *nï-*^{s}; a noun compound *nï-γa'nιχa-* is impossible. This type of postposition raises the question whether all postpositions as a class are not in origin stereotyped compounded nouns (e. g. HOUSE- UNDER < HOUSE-UNDERNESS; UNDER MY HOUSE = MY HOUSE-UNDERNESS).

(2) VERBAL USE OF POSTPOSITIONS. All postpositions indicating movement, also some indicating presence, may be and frequently are verbified without further change in form. Formal verbal suffixes (e. g. momentaneous *-ŋu-* and tense elements) are directly suffixed to the postposition. Examples of such verbified uses are:

avι'mιtuγwa'^{a} it-back-from-thou! go out (of it)!
^{u}*'u'x·uṗa·*^{a}*p·ïγa'* it (inv.)-through (*-uṗ·a-*)-past; (he) went off through it (inv.), in yonder direction
uŋwa''vantuγwaŋuṗïγa' he (inv.)-on-to-momentaneous-past, (he) got on top of him
axa'va·ntuχwa'^{a} what-at-to-thou? where are you going to?
naŋwa''aimιk·uṗïγa'aimï self-with-movement-inceptive-past-dual, (they) 2 started to go along together
qa'tcu maa'nųŋwa'aik·wa not that (vis.)-at-negative-it (inv.), was not there

All postpositions may be participialized by means of *-tï-*^{n} (§ 25, 6, a); e. g. *-va·ntï-*, obj. *-va·ntïa-*, BEING AT (*-va-*^{n} AT). Such participialized postpositions are often employed where simple local phrases or adverbs would appear in English, e. g. HE GATHERED STICKS THAT-AT-BEING-OBJ. (*uv*^{w}*a·'ntïa*) instead of simply THAT-AT, THERE (*uv*^{w}*a'*). Sometimes the participial form takes on a specialized significance; e. g. *u'ma* IT-ON, THEREON, THEREAT, but *um*^{w}*a'ntï* (obj. *um*^{w}*a'ntïa*) BEING THEREAT, i. e. SOME OF IT. Participialized postpositions may be followed by other postpositions, e. g. *-va·ntï-m·a-naŋqwa-* AT-BEING-ON-FROM, AWAY FROM.

(3) PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTIONS WITH POSTPOSITIONS. While postpositions may be used with noun stems (e. g. *qanι'ntcuq·wa* HOUSE-UNDER), there is a tendency for postpositions to attach themselves by preference to pronouns and demonstrative stems. Hence the type noun + postposition is often replaced by its periphrastic equivalent: noun (obj.), pronoun (or demonstrative stem) + postposition; the noun may follow. An independent objective pronoun may also be thus periphrastically used with a pronominal or demonstrative stem.

paa'iaram uŋwα'vatcï aunt-obj.-our 2 (inclus.) she-at-being, to our (2) aunt
aru'q·WA qanı'A it-under house (obj.), under the house
tia'vï ųm^{u}α'ntïA service-berry-bush (obj.) it (inv.)-at-being-obj., (he took) from the bush, (he took) some of the bush
pa.i u'a'xaϕA water (obj.) it-into, right into the water
^{i}i'tci a'uṗ·ac·U this (inan. obj.) it-in way-again, again in this way
nį'niαntcax·qa'ŋA niŋwα'ntuγw ïyï'ŋqaŋU me-preterit-it (vis.)-he (vis.) I-from steal-momentaneous, he stole it from me
maŋa'iac· aŋa'rux·WA him (vis.) he-to, to him

(4) LIST OF POSTPOSITIONS. The following list of postpositions includes all elements that have been found on analysis. The entries are made for simple postpositions, compounded forms coming under the first element; cross references make clear the relationship of the various elements.

1. *-a-^{g}* PRESENT AT; occurs only as participialized *-at·ï-* BEING PRESENT AT and compounded: *-an·u-* (cf. 25) PRESENT AT; *-an·u-yu-* (cf. 25, 49) MOVEMENT FROM; *-at·uγwa-* (cf. 30) ALONG TOWARD. These elements occur only after demonstrative stems, e. g.:

i(y)ε'nuan 'anı'n'nı' this-at-I do-continuative-present, here I am
u(w)a'n·oyuntcA pa(i)yü'ŋU that (inv.)-at-from-preterit return, (he) has been at and returned from there
ua't· aRï that (inv.)-at-being it (vis.), the (thing) yonder, what is over there
i(y)ä't·uγwam'mıa(i)yïaŋA this-at-to-moving-present-he (vis.), he walks along over here

2. *-'aγa-^{s}* RIGHT IN, AMONG; occurs only compounded: *-'aγaruγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING THROUGH, IN AMONG; *-'aγava-* (cf. 37) RIGHT IN; *-'aγavayu-* (cf. 37, 49) ACTING RIGHT IN; *-'aγavatcuγwa-* (cf. 37, 30) RIGHT INTO; *-'aγavatcum·anaŋqwa-* (cf. 37, 30, 7, 18) OUT FROM AMONG. Examples are:

qanı u'a'xarux·WA house (obj.) it-through, right through the house
pa.i u'a'xaϕA water (obj.) it-in, right in the water
u'a'xava(i)YU yaχa'va·ntï it-in cry-future-participle, being about to cry while right in it
pa·'^{a}γavatcuγwaŋw'αmï qwïï'p·ïγa' water-into-them (inv.)-they (inv.) took (sing.-dual object), they 2 took them 2 right into (the) water

'a'xavatcumanaŋqwA tɔ'ɔ'ivï (< *a'a'xa-*) it-in-from bulrushes (obj.), out from among the bulrushes

3. *-γa'niχa-* ALONG, BESIDE (cf. independent stem *qa'nιχa-* SIDE, PROXIMITY); occurs only compounded: *-γa'niχa·γi-* (cf. 5) MOVING BESIDE; *-γa'niχa·va-* (cf. 38) AT SIDE OF; *-γa'niχa·va·yu-* (cf. 38, 49) ACTING AT SIDE OF. Examples are:

qanι'an uχwa'n'nιχa·x·I paγ(a)'i house-obj.-I it-beside-moving walk, I walk along the house
nïχa''nιχa·ᵃva at my side (at rest like a tree)
nïχa''nιχa·ᵃva.iYU at my side (something going on)

4. *-γa·va'-*; occurs only as participialized *-γa·va't·i-* BEING—ER THAN, e. g.:

nïχa·'ᵃvat·ïm pa'a'(i)yïaŋA I-greater-plur. tall-present-he (vis.), he is taller than I
niŋwï'xaᵃva't·ïm·ʷ αŋA person-greater- plur. he (vis.), the one greater than anybody else, the greatest one

5. *-γi-ᵍ* MOVING THROUGH; common in compounded forms, but rare as simple postposition, e. g.:

tï'ra(i)yua·x·I desert-plain-through, through the open plain.

For compounded forms, see 3, 7, 17, 21, 26, 31, 45; also 15, 48. *-γi-* regularly lengthens preceding short vowels.

6. *-γïm·a-* OTHER THAN (cf. independent stem *qïm·a-* OTHER, STRANGER; § 39, 2); occurs only compounded: *-γïm·aŋwantï-* (cf. 8) BEING OTHER THAN, NOT RELATED TO; *-γïm·aŋwit·uγwa-* (cf. 14) MOVING AWAY FROM. Examples are:

imι'χïmaŋwαntï thou-other-at-being, not related to you
qan·ι'γïmaŋwιtux·WA away from (the) house
uγu'm·aŋwιt·ux·WA away from it (inv.)

7. *-ma-ⁿ* RESTING ON, AT, FOR (of time); obj. *-maŋqu-* (see § 49, 1; apparently only with enclitic possessive pronoun, while *-ma-* seems to occur only without such pronoun); *-manaŋqwa-* (cf. 18) FROM ON, BECAUSE OF; *-manaŋqwap·a-* ON OTHER SIDE OF (cf. 18, 37); *-man·ia-* NEAR (cf. enclitic *-n·ia-*; § 19, 2, d);- *mantï-* BEING ON, AT, SOME OF, BELONGING TO; *-mantïm·anaŋqwa-* FROM ON, FROM ONE OF (here *-ma-* occurs twice); *-mantïŋwa'ai-* WITH SOME OF (cf. 11); *-mantuγwa-* (cf.

30) UP TO, AGAINST, DURING; *-mayu-* (cf. 49) FROM ON, AT; perhaps also *-ma·γi-* (cf. 5) AROUND, CIRCLING. Examples are:

qanɪ'mA on, at a house (e. g. vine)
wa·'t·ɔməmA two-year-on, for two years
tca'a'iɻ·aiyoaŋ aŋa'vïmaŋqoaŋA hold-resultative-when-him arm-at-obj.-his (vis.), when holding him by his arm
cï'ra·m·anaŋqwA qana'rï uʊʷa ɻmï''i Cedar City-from Kanab (obj.) there arrive (plur.), (they) arrive at Kanab from Cedar City
ya'a'iɻ·wɔ'aivä' yaγa'n·av umʷa'naŋqwA die-off-shall crying-own it-from, let him die from his crying
qan·ɪ'm·anaŋqwɔp·A house-from at, on other side of (his) camp
qanɪ'an umʷα'nɪ' paγ(a)'i' house-obj.-I it-at-like walk, I walk near the house
na'a'intï ɥmantï burning (obj.) it-at-being, from fire, something burning (subj.)
cv·'q·uc· uʊʷɪ'amantïaφï qaχa''pïγa' one (obj.) song-at-being-obj.-own sang (momentaneously), sang one of his own songs
cu(w)a'rɔχwᵊit·uγwan·um·antux·wA nearly-right-night-at-to, up to nearly midnight
tïn·a·'ma(i)yuaq·A from its base
mɪ(y)ɔ'm·a·x·I very far around

For compounded forms, see 10, 25; also 2, 15, 17, 18, 25, 30, 38, 43, 45.

8. *-ŋwa-ⁿ* RESTING ON, AT (spirantized form of 7; *-ŋwa-* and its compounds are used instead of *-ma-* after personal, relative, and reflexive pronouns; also after animate nouns in *-tsɪ-*, § 24, 1, f); obj. *-ŋwaŋqu-* (apparently used when followed by enclitic possessive pronoun); *-ŋwanaŋqwa-* (cf. 18) FROM, BY; participialized *-ŋwantï-* BEING AT, ONE OF; *-ŋwantïŋwa'ai-* (cf. 11) WITH SOME OF; *-ŋwantuγwa-* (cf. 30) ON TO, FROM. Examples are:

nɻ'ŋwA (hanging) on me
tɔγɔ'iMUᶻtaq·aŋ'wαŋquns right on my forehead
pA'qa'ŋʊtï·tca·ŋA qwiya'tsɪŋwanaŋqwA kill-passive-preterit-he (vis.) bear-by, he was killed by (the) bear (such agentive constructions with passives, however, are not common)
ɥmʷu'ŋwant aip·ïγa' they (inv.)- from- being said, one of them said
tï·'ntïᶻqap·ïγa ɥwα'ŋwantï' well-ate she-from-being-obj., (he) enjoyed himself well from her

aivam um·u'ŋwantïŋwa'ª youths they (inv.)-from-being-with, with some of the young men

naŋwα'ntux·wA pa'iχa' self-on-to calling, calling on to himself

For compounded forms, see 6, 11, 12; also 7.

9. *-ma-* WITH (as instrumental), e. g.:

impï'ma' tïγa'n·ιwa·n·ι' what-with-thou butcher-will? with what will you butcher?

tümpʷι'mA nara'φιɬap·ïγa' rock-with reciprocal-throw-plural-past, (they) bethrew each other with rocks, (they) threw rocks at each other

pɔrɔ'q̇·wama(·ª)mauφï cane-plural-with-their (inv.)-own, (they hit it) with their canes

10. *-ma'ai-* TOGETHER WITH (used with inanimate forms); obj. *-ma'q·u-*. This is related either to instrumental *-ma-* (9) or, more probably, to local *-ma-* (7), as indicated by its parallelism to *-ŋwa'ai-* (11). Objective *-ma'q·u-* is used when coupled with an objective noun. Examples are:

'am·a''aic·U nan·a'p·ïγa' it-with-again grew, (he) grew simultaneously with it

atcι'm·'aq·uq·waφï bow-with-obj.-it (inv.)-own, (while holding) it together with his bow

11. *-ŋwa'ai-*ⁿ TOGETHER WITH (spirantized form of 10; used with animate forms), obj. *-ŋwa'q·u-*. It is doubtless related to *-ŋwa-* (8). Examples are:

sari'vuŋquŋw'aimI with your dog

nï' qanι'χa imiŋwa'ª I house-have thou-with, I live with you

imï'ŋw'aimpa' shall go with you

to·'q̇·wap·ïγa' piŋwa'ŋw'aq·uφï bet-past wife-with-obj.-own, (he) bet (it) together with his wife (i.e. staked his wife too)

For compounded forms, see 7, 8.

12. *-minaŋwa-* WITH (instrumental); probably compounded with *-ŋwa-* (8). It is found only suffixed to objective *naŋwa'q·u-* BOTH (§ 59, 3, c), e. g.:

naŋwa''q·um·ιnaŋwA pu'ι'm·anI both-obj.-with eye-with-my, with both my eyes

It is not certain that this interpretation of *-minaŋwa-* is correct.

13. *-mi-*; found only compounded: *-mit·uγwa-* (cf. 30) IN — DIRECTION, e. g.:

pimi't·ux·WA tɔγɔ'q·WI backward run!
qwi·'mɪtux·WA to the left

For compounded forms, see 48.

14. *-ŋwi-^{g}* IN, ON (of time; infrequent); chiefly compounded: *-ŋwit·uγwa-* (cf. 30) IN DIRECTION OF (spirantized form of 13; used after non-geminating stems, including all pronouns); participialized *-ŋwit·uγwantï-*. Examples are:

'i'tcïA tava'ŋwI this (obj.) day-on, on this day
nanɪ'n'naŋwɪtux·WA in different directions
qïma'ŋwɪtux·WA in another direction
iŋwɪ't·ux·WA in this direction
i'i'ŋwɪtuγwɑnt uru''avïˊ this-toward-participle be-irrealis, I wonder if (he) is coming this way

For compounded forms, see 20; also 6.

15. *-mi(y)u-* AT A DISTANCE FROM (cf. independent stem *mi(y)ɔ-* AT A DISTANCE, FAR); diminutive *-mi'ɔitsiva-* (cf. 37) AT A LITTLE DISTANCE FROM; *-mi(y)uma·γi-^{g}* (cf. 7, 5), participialized *-mi(y)uma·γit·ï-* BEING FURTHER AWAY. Examples are:

nïm·^{w}i'(Y)U at a distance from me
ɥmɪ''ɔɔitsɪɸA at a little distance from it (inv.)
ɥmɥ'yuma·x·ɪtïˊ being (obj.) a little further away from it (inv.)

16. *-ŋqwa-^{g}* DIRECTION, used only after *qwaia-^{n}* BEYOND, OPPOSITE; occurs only compounded: *-ŋqwap·a-* (cf. 37) BEYOND; participialized *-ŋqwap·atcï-* BEING BEYOND; *-ŋqwap·atcuγwa-* (cf. 37, 30) TO BEYOND. Examples are:

qwaia'ŋqWApa·q·A opposite-direction-at-its (vis.), beyond it
qwaia'ŋqWApatcï being beyond, on the other side
qwaia'ŋqWApatcux·WA to the other side

Generally *-ŋqwa-* occurs as compounded *-naŋqwa-* (18). For compounded forms, see 33.

17. *-n·a·γi-^{g}* IN, INTO (perhaps compounded of older *-na-*, cf. 18, 21, 47, and *-γi-^{g}*, 5); participialized *-n·a·γit·ï-* BEING IN; *-n·a·γit·uγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING INTO; *-n·a·γit·umanaŋqwa-* (cf. 30, 7, 18) FROM INSIDE OF; *-n·a·γiyu-* ACTING IN (cf. 49). Examples are:

imi'n·a·x·ɪ in thee
taŋa'na·χ'ɪk·waɸï mara'ŋɪḵava' knee-in-it (inv.)-own put-plur.-will, (you) will put it in (your) own knees
ɔra'va' ẗïv^{w}i'p·ï ɥna·'^{a}γɪt·ï' dig-shall earth (obj.) it (inv.) -in-participle, (you) shall dig the earth being in, (you) shall dig into the earth
ɥna·'^{a}γɪt·uγwap·ï'γa' went into it (inv.)
'an·a·'γɪt·um·aŋqwA from inside of it
aγa'n·ɪχaï' aiḵ· ɥn·a·'^{a}γɪYU how-act-subordinate-thou say it (inv.)-in-acting? what are you doing in there (that accounts for your noise)?

For compounded forms, see 48.

18. *-naŋqwa-* (probably compounded of non-independent *-na-*, cf. 17, and *-ŋqwa-*, cf. 16) DIRECTION, occurring in adverbs; participialized *-naŋqwat·ï-* (*-naŋqwantï-*); *-naŋqwat·ïmanaŋqwa-* (cf. 7, 18) FROM — DIRECTION (note that *-naŋqwa-* occurs twice); *-naŋqwap·a-* (cf. 37) IN — DIRECTION, NEAR; participial *-naŋqwap·atcï-* BEING IN — DIRECTION. Examples are:

ẗïna'ŋqwa(i)yïaŋA he (vis.) is coming up
pana'ŋqWAtïm·anaŋqWA down-being-from, from north (*pana'ŋqWA* down < water-ward)
imï'n·aŋqwɔp·A thou-direction-at, in your direction, near you
ina'ŋqWApatcïA this-direction-at-being (obj.), (he shot) on the other end

For compounded forms, see 7, 8, 31, 40, 48; also 2, 17, 18, 38, 43, 45.

19. *-naŋwï·n·a'mi-* IN SIGHT OF (cf. *-u(w)a-'mi* IN FRONT OF, 32), e. g.:

ɥn·a'ŋwï·n·am'MI seen from it (inv.)

20. *-naṗ·aŋwi-* MOVING DOWN (perhaps contains *-ŋwi-*, 14), e. g.:

qa'ivanaṗ·aŋWI moving down (the) mountain

21. *-narï(i)ya-* BETWEEN, distributive *-nanarï(i)ya-* (cf. independent noun *narï(i)ya-* BETWEENNESS with reciprocal prefix *na-*[s]; e. g. *narï'(i)yava·nïmI* AT OUR (EXCL.) BETWEENNESS, BETWEEN US) occurs only compounded: *-narï(i)yava·-*, *-narï(i)yap·a·-* (cf. 38) BETWEEN; *-narï(i)yaγï-* (cf. 5) THROUGH BETWEEN, STUCK BETWEEN; *-narï(i)yana-* (cf. 17, 18, 47) ON BETWEEN; *-narï(i)yava·ntuγwa-* (cf. 38, 30) TO BETWEEN. Examples are:

qanɪ'n·arïiava' between (2) houses
qanɪ'n·anarïiava' among (several) houses (outside)
pu'ɪ'n·arïyap·a·ŋA between his (vis.) eyes
taŋwa'n·arïyaχïaŋA between his (vis.) (2) teeth (stuck like tooth-pick)
taŋwa'n·arïyana·ŋA between his (vis.) teeth (on outside)
tana'c·ɪχa(i)ya·ŋA narï'yava·ntux·WA foot-cleft-obj.-his (vis.) between-ness-at-to, to between his hoofs

22. *-nauq·wa-* DISTRIBUTED AMONG, THROUGHOUT (probably old noun stem with reciprocal prefix *na-*[s]), e. g.:

taŋwa'n·auq·WA we (inclus.)-among; distributed among us, each to each
ïïv^{w}ɪ'p·ï an·a'uq·WA country (obj.) it-among, throughout the country

23. *-navas·u-* FOLLOWING, IMITATING (perhaps analyzable into reflexive *na-* + *va-* AT, cf. 37, + enclitic *-c·u-* ALSO), e. g.

ɥmu'n·avas· an·ɪ'p·ïγa' they (inv.)-following did, (he) did as they did

24. *-ni-*[g] AWAY FROM; occurs only compounded: *-nit·uγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING AWAY FROM, e. g.:

ini't·uγwa'[a] this-away-to-thou! go away (from here)!

25. *-n·u-*; occurs only with stem *tuγwa-* DARK, NIGHT, which it nominalizes; also compounded: *-num·a-* (cf. 7) FOR (of time); *-num·antuγwa-* (cf. 7, 30) UP TO e. g.:

tuγwa'nU night
cv·'it·uγwanU one night; *cv·'it·oγwanumac·U* for just one night
cu(w)a'rɔχw^{o}it·uγwan·um·antux·WA nearly-middle-night-at-to, up to nearly midnight

For compounded *-an·u-*, see 1.

26. *-ɔa-* AROUND; seems to occur only compounded: *-ɔaγit·uγwa-* (cf. 5, 30) (CIRCLING) AROUND; participialized *-ɔaγit·uγwantï-*. Examples are:

qanɪ ɔɔ'aχɪt·ux·WA house (obj.) it (inv.; *ɔɔa-* assimilated from *u-ɔa-*)-around-to, (placed) around the house
aŋa'ɔax·ɪtux·WA circling around him
uŋwa'ɔax·ɪtuγwantï' qaŋqa'nɪA he (inv.)-around-being (obj.) houses (distributive)-obj., houses (obj.) that (were) round about him

27. *-q·waia-*^{n} OPPOSITE (cf. independent *qwaia-*^{n} OPPOSITE, BEYOND, § 60, 2, b); only compounded: *-q·waiantuγwa-* (cf. 30) TO OPPOSITE, ACROSS, e. g.:

pa·'q·waiäntux·wA water-opposite-to, across (the) water

28. *-ẗiraγua-* CENTER, MIDDLE (cf. independent noun stem *ẗiraγua-* CENTER); only compounded: *-ẗiraγuap·a·-*, *-ẗiraγuava·-* (cf. 38) IN CENTER OF, RIGHT AMONG; participialized *-ẗiraγuava·ntï-* BEING IN CENTER OF; *-ẗiraγuava·ntuγwa-* (cf. 38, 30) TO CENTER OF. *-t-* appears as *-r-* (*-tc-*, *-ntc-*), *-t·-*, *-nt-*. Examples are:

niŋwï'rïraxuɔp·a' people-center-at, right among (the) people
qanı'ntciraχɔava·ntï house-center-at-being, being in the middle of (the) house
tɔγɔ't·iraχɔava·ntuχwa·q·A right-center-at-to-its (vis.), right into the middle of it

29. *-rïc·u'ai-na'ai-* NOT HEEDING, PAYING NO ATTENTION TO; always verbal in form, *-na'ai-* being negative verb suffix (see § 57, 2, d), e. g.:

aŋa'RÏcu'ain·a'^{a} paying no attention to him

For another explanation of these forms, see § 18 2, c.

30. *-tuγwa-*^{n} TO, TOWARD, often verbalized TO GIVE TO; participialized *-tuγwantï-*;- *tuγwantïm·ayu-* (cf. 7, 49) FROM —WARDS. *-t-* appears as *-r-* (*-tc-*, *-ntc-*), *-t·-*, *-nt-*. This common postposition is probably compounded of non-independent *-tu-* and *-γwa-* (or *-γa-*; cf. perhaps *-γa-* of *-'aγa-*, 2), as is shown by dropping of *-γwa-* before *-manaŋqwa-* (7, 37; also 2, 17, 43) and one or two other elements, e. g. *-n·a·γıt·u-m·anaŋqwa-* (17), *-vatcum·anaŋqwa-* (2, 37). Examples are:

ɥwa'ruγwap·ïγa'aik·wA gave it (inv.) to him (inv.)
aruγw a'ip·ïγa' it-to said
pa·χïŋwa·'arux·wApïγa' water-edge-to-past, went along (the) river shore
qatcu'aŋanı nį' *imi'ntcuχwava·ŋ'wain·ıa·ŋA* not-him (vis.)-I I thou-to-will-negative-indicative-him (vis.), I shall not give him to you
qwa'ut·uγwɑc·U off-to-also, facing the other way
tuγu'ntux·wA upward
ẗiv^{w}*a'ı'tuγwantï* west-to-being, (the) west
tuχu'ntuχwantim^{w}*ɥ(i)YU* from upward

For compounded forms, see 1, 2, 7, 8, 13, 14, 17, 24, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 43, 44, 45, 47; also 6, 16, 25, 48.

Verbalized *-tuγwa-* TO GO TO may even be compounded with another verb stem, e. g. *ïina'ʻtuγwan'ni-* TO BE OUT ON A HUNTING TRIP (cf. *ïina·-* TO HUNT).

31. *-tuq·wa-ᵍ* UNDER; participialized *-tuq·wat·ï-* BEING UNDER; *-tuq·wa·γi-* (cf. 5) MOVING UNDER; participialized *-tuq·wa·γit·ï-* MOVING UNDER; *-tuq·wa·γiyu-* (cf. 5, 49) ACTING WHILE MOVING UNDER; *-tuq·waip·a·-* UNDER SIDE OF (perhaps misheard for *-γip·a·-*, cf. 5, 38); *-tuq·wanaŋqwa-* (cf. 18) CLIMBING (TREE); *-tuq·wat·uγwa-* (cf. 30) TOWARDS UNDER; *-tuq·wayu-* (cf. 49) ACTING UNDER. *-t-* appears as *-r-* (*-tc-*, *-ntc-*), *-t·-*, *-nt-*. Examples are:

naru'q·WA under (him)self
tAʻci'antï uru'q·WA dawn-being (obj.) it (inv.)-under, under the dawn, just before daybreak
tava'tcuq·WA sun-under, during the day
qanɪ'ntcuq·WA under (the) house
tümpʷi't·uq·WA under a stone
aru'q·WAtïαq·A it-under-being-its (vis.), its bottom
pa·ru'q·wa·x·I moving under (the) water
qani'ntcUqwa·ᵃχɪt·ï moving under (the) house
aru'q·wa·ᵃχeYU yaχa'vurup·ïγaʻ it-under-moving-acting cry-go about-past, went about under it while crying
ava·'ᵃruq·waip·a·'q·WA under side of its (inv.) shade
aru'q·wanaŋqWApïγaʻ climbed up it
qa'ivay uru'q·WAtux·WA mountain (obj.) it (inv.)-under-to, towards under the mountain, to the base of the mountain
anɪ'antca' aiŋ uru'q·wa(i)YU what-preterit-thou say-momentaneous it (inv.)-under acting? what did you say under there?

For compounded forms, see 45.

32. *-u(w)a'mi-* IN FRONT OF (evidently compounded; for *-'mi-*, cf. 19); *-u(w)it·uγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING IN FRONT OF, BEFORE (of time). Examples are:

mamɨ'u(w)a'mI in front of them (vis.)
niŋwv·'ᵘ(w)α'mI (< *nïŋwï-uwa'mi-*) in front of (the) person
tamɪ'u(w)ɪt·ux·WA moving in front of us 2 (inclus.)
nïu'(w)ɪtuχwatca·ŋA pi'tcï I-before-preterit-he (vis.) arrive, he arrived before me

33. *-un·a-*^{n}; only compounded: *-un·aŋqwap·a-* (cf. 16, 37) OUTSIDE OF, BACK BEHIND; *-un·antuγwa-* (cf. 30) OPPOSITE TO. Examples are:

qan·ɪ'on·aŋqwɔp·A outside of (the) house
nïɥ'n·aŋqwɔp·A back behind me (at rest)
nï'u'nantux·WA opposite to me

34. *-o·n·a·p·ï-* BEHIND (probably related to 33; cf. also *-vi·na·p·ï-*, 48), e. g.:

qanɪ'o·na·^{a}*p·ï* behind (the) house

35. *-uṗ·a(·)-*^{n}, ^{g} THROUGH, BY, IN — DIRECTION; IN — MANNER (employed both locally and, no doubt secondarily, modally); obj. *-uṗ·a(·)q·u-*; with enclitic *-n·ia-* (§ 19, 2, d) *-uṗ·an·ia-* (TO ACT) LIKE; with enclitic *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k) *-uṗ·a(·)c·u-* IN THE SAME WAY, DIRECTION AS; participialized *-uṗ·at·ï-* BEING THROUGH, AMONG, AROUND; *-uṗ·antuγwa-* (cf. 30) TOGETHER WITH; *-uṗ·a(·)t·uγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING THROUGH, ALONG, BY MEANS OF. Examples are:

nïo'ṗ·aŋU I-by-momentaneous, pass by me
tümp^{w}*a'UṗA'amï* through their (inv.) mouths
'ï'Upa·'^{a}*p·ïγa'* went this way, in this direction
a'uṗ·aŋqɪpïγa' it-through-come-past, came along through it (referring to trail, tracks)
ma'uṗ·a'^{a} in that way, thus
tɔγɔ'n·^{v}*op·a'* just-I-in manner (= *tɔγɔin·ï-oṗ·a-*), equally to me
kWɪ'tu'x·ṗa·q·oaŋA anus-through-obj.-his (vis.), through his anus (he bit him)
nï' imi'(Y)Upa'anɪ naya'ϕA^{x}*qa'* I thou-in-manner-like look, I look like you
o·'ṗ·ac·U in the same direction, in the same manner
qaŋqa'nɪ o·'ṗ·at·ï houses (distributively)-obj. it (inv.)- through-being (fires) distributed among the houses
na·'ṗ·antux·WA (< *na-uṗ·a-*^{n}; see § 4, 1, a) reciprocal-in-manner-to, all together
o·'ṗ·at·uγwap·ïγa' went along on it
imi'Upa't·ux·WA through you, by means of you

36. *-'urai-*^{n} TOWARD, AFTER; participialized *-'uraintï-* GOING TOWARD. Examples are:

qanɪ'u'ra' towards (the) house
**^{u}*'u'raimpa·n·ɪanɪ* I shall go toward, after it
tï 'a'uraintï' up it-toward-being-obj., up towards it

Unlike other postpositions, *'urai-* seems often to occur as a phonetically independent word, an adverb with prepositional function, e. g.:

qanɪ''an u'ra‘ paγ(ɛ)'ï‘ house-obj.-I towards go-present (= *qanɪ'an 'u'ra‘*, perhaps *qanɪ'an u'u'ra‘*, it-toward), I go towards the house
NU^{x}qwɪ'm'mɪan 'u'ra‘ run-moving-me towards, comes running toward me

37. *-pa-^{s}* AT (spirantized form *-va-* used with personal pronominal stems—not including demonstrative stems, which are followed by *-va·-^{n}*, 38 —, after diminutive *-tsɪ-*, and rarely after verbs, see § 55, 2; geminated form *-p·a-* occurs less frequently, with certain adverbs and compounded, 16, 18); with enclitic *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k) *-vac·u-* (JOINTED) IN SO AND SO MANY PLACES (after numeral stems); participialized *-vatcï-* BEING AT, TO, ABOUT; *-patcuγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING TO (*-vatcuγwa-* with pronouns and personal nouns, *-p·atcuγwa-* with certain adverbs); *-vatcuq·u-* (cf. 30, 41) DURING (of time); *-vayu-* (cf. 49) ACTING AT, FROM; DURING, THROUGH (of time). Curiously enough, *-pa-^{s}* is treated as though ending in *i*, hence followed by *-tc-* instead of *-r-*. Examples are:

aŋa'ϕA he-at, where he is
pi'tcïRĭ nï'^{u}ϕ^{w}A arriving I-at, arriving at my place
mi(y)ɔ''^{i}tsɪϕA tï'qa'ŋ'wIpïγa‘ far-little-at became, got a little way off
wa'iχApïγa ɥn·i'ϕA deliberated do-at, (they) deliberated as to (what they were) to do
tcaγɪ'p·A near (= proximity-at)
paa'iväc·U (jointed) in three places

am·ï''v^{w}atcïA tɔŋwa'q·ɪŋumpa‘ they-at-being-obj. shoot-momentaneous-shall, shall shoot at them
nï' 'aŋa'vatcïA pU'tcu'tcuγwai‘ I he-at-being-obj. know-present, I know about him
uŋwa'vatcuγwaŋqw'aip·ïγa‘ he-at-to-go-past, went to him
pi(y)a'vatcuχwaϕï (he went) to his own mother
tcaγɪ'p·atcux·WA near-to, (they fought) close together
tuγwa'vatcuq·U during (the) night
tuχwα'va(i)YU through, during (the) night
mava'(i)^{z}tïγan·ɪ‘ (probably = *-vaYU-*) that-at-acting-become (§ 60, 2, b)- like; at, to a certain distance

For compounded forms, see 2, 15, 16, 18, 23; also 7, 33, 48.

38. *-pa·-^{n}* AT (parallel to 37, but freely suffixed to nouns, generally as spirantized *-va·-^{n}-*, only infrequently as geminated *-p·a·-^{n}* or nasalized *-mpa·-^{n}*); objective *-mpa·ŋqu-*; participialized *-va·ntï-* BEING AT (less often *-p·a·ntï-*, *-mpa·ntï-*; *-p·a·ntï-* ABOUT, CONCERNING with verbs, see § 55, 2); *-va·ntïm·anaŋqwa-* (cf. 7, 18) STARTING FROM; *-va·ntuγwa* (cf. 30) TO, ON TO (less often *-p·a·ntuγwa-*; *-p·a·ntuγwa-* TO, DURING with verbs, see § 55, 2); *-va·yu-* (cf. 49) ACTING AT, FROM (less often *-p·a·yu-*, *-mpa·yu-*; *-p·a·yu-* sometimes with verbs, see § 55, 2). Examples of this most important of all postpositions are:

ava' it-at, there; *mava'*, *m^{w}α'va'* there (vis.); *uv^{w}a'*, *^{u}u'v^{w}a'* there (inv.); *ivä'*, *^{v}i'vä'* this-at, here

qanɪ'va·nɪ at my house

tümp^{w}i'p·a' stone-at (< *tümp^{w}i-^{ø}*; but also *tümp^{w}i'vä'*)

mïa·'^{a}γantümpa' on (the) divide (< *mïa·'γantï-^{n}*)

tɔγɔ'iŋqwɪyumpa·ŋqunɪ right-crown-at-obj.-my, (hit me) right on the crown of my head

'i'vä·nt aʀï this-at-being it, that which is here

uv^{w}a·'^{a}ntïA pU'ca'γaik·^{z}Apïγa' there-being-obj. hunt for-plur.-past, there (they) hunted for (him)

tïnɪ'aŋqïva·c·'umɪ nį'ni ųnɪ'p·ä·ntiαnɪ tell-to-will-thee me do-at-being-obj.-my, I will tell you about what I do

m^{w}α'va·ntïmanaŋqWA that (vis.)-at-being-on-direction, starting from there

nïv^{w}a·'^{a}ntux·WA (coming) on to, upon me

uv^{w}a·'^{a}ntuγw'aŋWA w^{ɪ}na'ɪ'pïγa'aiŋWA there-to-him (inv.) throw-past-him (inv.), right there (he) threw him down

pao'(w)ɪ'pa·ntux·WA water-canyon-at-to, down to (the) canyon

pɔrɔ'm'mɪap·a·ntuγwαφï travel-moving-at-to-own, during their own traveling

ki(y)ap· iva'a(i)YU tïχa'iva' round-dance here-acting happen-shall, a round-dance will take place here

uv^{w}a·'yu'mï naŋwa''aimï pa(i)yi'q·w'ɔip·ïγa' there-acting-dual reciprocal-with-dual return-go-past, from there both of them returned home

qwavi'ŋUpa·yuφï camp (plur.)-momentaneous-at-acting-own, at their own camping place, where they were staying over night

mïm·ï'αntsɪχαntïmpa·(i)YU tA'tcɔ'n'naxa' divides (distributively)-little-being-at-acting scratch-subordinating, while scratching around in little divides

For compound forms, see 3, 21, 28, 31.

There are also forms with *-va(·)'a-* and *-va(·)'a(i)yu-* for normal *-va·-* and *-va·(i)yu-*. What the significance of the vocalic breaking is is not evident. It is barely possible that *-va·'a-* is to be analyzed as *-va·-* + enclitic *-'a-* (§ 19, 3, a); yet the suffixing of non-enclitic *-yu-* to *-va·'a-* makes this highly improbable. Examples are:

mʷɑ'va'anïmʷɪ qanɪ'χa' there-we (exclus.) house-have, we live there
'i'va'a(i)y ɥɲɪ'ŋU here-acting do-momentaneous, start(s) from here

Here may belong also 46, 47.

39. *-vai-ᵍ*, does not seem to occur alone; participialized *-vait·ï-* EQUALLY TO, AS — AS, generally followed by enclitic *-n·ia-* (§ 19, 2, d); *-vait·ɔγɔ-ⁿ* ALONGSIDE OF. Examples are:

tɔγɔ'n·ᵛivaɪ'tïm pa'a'(i)yïn·ɪa·ŋA just-I-equal-being-plural tall-present-like-he (vis.), he is as tall as I am
qanɪ'vait·ɲɲɪ' house-equal-being-like, about the size of a house
taŋwa'vait·ɔx·ɔ (moving) alongside of us (incl.)
am·ï'vʷaitɔγɔŋqw'aiχa' while passing alongside of them

40. *-vaia-*, occurs only compounded; participialized *-vaianaŋqwat·ï-* (cf. 18) BEFORE REACHING, e. g.:

'aŋa'vaianaŋqwʌtïɑc·U wants aŋA kwɪ'pa'p·ïγa' he-before-being-objective-again antelope he fell, the antelope fell down dead before reaching him

41. *-vaiyauq·u-* AT — TIME (for *-q·u-* cf. *-vatcuq·u-* DURING, 37); *-vaiyau-* is probably compounded of *-va·-* (38), or *-va-* (37), and otherwise non-occurring *-yau-*. Examples are:

'u'vʷaiyauq·U at that (inv.) time, then, thereupon (very common as sentence-introducing adverb in mythical narrative)
ᵛi'tcia·q·A pïvʷa'iyauq·U qana'rï·tsɪŋwï'aq· umï pU'pu'tcuγwap·ï this (inan. obj.) -it (vis.) which-time Kanab-Indians-obj.-it (inv.) they (inv.) learn (distributively)-past partic., this is the time at which the Kanab Indians learned it

42. *-vantï-* PLACE LEFT OVER (with numeral stems; perhaps only *-va·ntï-*, 38), e. g.:

cv·'vʷantïc·U one-more-also, only one more
waa·'vantïc·U only two places left

43. *-paŋwi-^{g}* IN, INSIDE OF (very likely compounded of *-pa-^{s}*, 37, and *-ŋwi-^{g}*, 14; generally appears as spirantized *-vaŋwi-*, far less frequently as geminated *-p·aŋwi-*, nasalized *-mpaŋwi-*); participialized *-paŋwit·ï-*; *-paŋwit·uγwa-* (cf. 30) INTO; *-paŋwit·um·anaŋqwa-* (cf. 30, 7, 18) OUT FROM INSIDE OF; *-paŋwiyu-* (cf. 49) ACTING IN. Examples are:

qanɪ'vaŋwɪ house-in, inside (the) house
tɔγɔ'iavaŋwɪtïA kwɪ'pa'p·ïγa' right-it-in-being-obj. fell, (he) fell right in it
mɔ'ɔ'vaŋwɪt·uγwa·ŋA into his (vis.) hand (it flew)
qanɪ'vaŋwɪt·umanaŋqwA (he came) out from (the) house
qana'uɪŋwaγantimpaŋwɪtux·wA willow-canyon-in-to, in through a willow-bordered canyon
wa'iχan·a'amï qan·ɪ'vaŋwɪyu deliberate-verbal noun- their (vis.) house-in-acting, their deliberating while in (the) house

44. *-vatcaŋwi-^{g}* MEETING, TOWARDS (person) (probably contains *-pa-^{s}*, 37, and *-ŋwi-^{g}*, 14; *-tca-*, perhaps < *-ta-*, is unexplained); *-vatcaŋwit·uγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING TOWARDS, FACING. Examples are:

maŋa'vatcaŋwɪŋup·ïγa' met him (vis.)
uŋwa'vatcaŋwɪtux·wA (rolled over) towards him (inv.)
qanɪ'vatcaŋwɪtux·wA facing (the) house

45. *-pa(i)ya·-^{s}*, *-pa(i)ya-^{s}* SURFACE (cf. independent noun stem *pa(i)ya·-^{s}* SURFACE, FACE), occurs frequently compounded with following postpositions, particularly after *tuγu-^{n}*, *tuγumpa-^{g}* SKY (*-v-*, *-p·-*, and *-mp-* are all found); *-pa(i)ya·γi-* (cf. 5) MOVING THROUGH, ALONG; *-pa(i)ya·m·ayu-* (cf. 7, 49) FROM; *-pa(i)ya·m·anaŋqwa-* (cf. 7, 18) FROM; *-pa(i)ya·ruγwa-* (cf. 30) UP BESIDE; *-pa(i)ya·ruq·wa-* (cf. 31) UNDER, NEXT TO. Examples are:

tuγu'mpApa(i)ya·x·I (he sings flying) through (the) air
tuγu'mpApa(i)ya·m·a(i)yu sky-surface-from, way up from (the) sky
tuχu'mpaiA pa(i)ya·'m·anaŋqwA sky (obj.) surface-from, from (the) sky
qaiva'vaiarux·wA mountain-surface-to, up beside (the) mountain
uv^{w}a'(i)ya·^{a}ruq·wA it (inv.)-surface-under, next to it
tuγu'mpa(i)yaruq·wA sky-surface-under, under (the) sky

46. *-pa'a·γi-^{g}* OVER, ACROSS (possibly compounded of *-pa·'a-* AT, 38, and *-γi-^{g}*, 5; generally spirantized *-va'a·γi-^{g}*, rarely geminated *-p·a'a·γi-^{g}*); participialized *-pa'a·γit·ï-*. Examples are:

qanɪ'v'a·x·I over (the) house (he flies)
nava''a·x·I over (him)self
o(w)ɪ'p̣·a·ᵃγɪk·ᵡA canyon-over-verbal present, (he) goes across a canyon-creek
'aŋa'v'a·γɪt·ïA he-over-being-obj., (he struck) over him (with his wing)

47. *-pa'an·a-* ON, UPON, RESTING ABOVE, ABOUT (possibly compounded of *-pa'a-* AT, 38, and non-independent *-n·a-*, cf. 17, 18, 21; generally spirantized *-va'an·a-*, rarely geminated *-p·a'an·a-*); participialized *-pa'antï-*; *-pa'antuγwa-* (cf. 30) ON TO, AGAINST; *-pa'an·ayu-* (cf. 49) ACTING ON. Examples are:

qanɪ'v'an·a·ŋA paγ(a)'in'nɪ' house-on-he (vis.) walk-continuative-present, he walks on (the) house
nïv^{w}a''anA I-on; on, about me
tümp^{w}i'p̣·anA on a stone (< *tümp^{w}i-^{g}*)
ɔa·'va·n'tiaŋ aRï back-on-being-his (vis.) it, the (thing) on his back
aŋ'a'vantux·WA on to him, against him
ava''an·a(i)YU it-on-acting, from above it (he sat and watched)

48. *-vi-^{g}* IN BACK OF (cf. instrumental prefix *pi-^{g}*, § 21, 3; also independent adverb *pimit·uγwa-* BACK, § 60, 2, b); occurs only compounded: *-vimit·uγwa-* (cf. 13) OUT OF; *-vin·a·γi-* (cf. 17) BEHIND; *-vinaŋqwa-* (cf. 18) BEHIND, AFTER, FOLLOWING; *-vinaŋqwap·a-*, *-vi·naŋqwap·a-* (cf. 18, 37) (RESTING) BEHIND; participialized *-vinaŋqwap·atcï-*; *vinaŋqwap·atcuγwa-* (cf. 18, 37, 30) MOVING AFTER; *-vinaŋqwap·ayu-* (cf. 18, 37, 49) ACTING BEHIND; *-vina·p·ï-*, *-vi·na·p·ï-* BEHIND (cf. 34). Examples are:

tiŋqa'nɪ uv^{w}i'mɪtux·WA cave (obj.) it (inv.)-back-out of, (he came) out of the cave
navɪ'n·a·x·I behind (him)self
uŋwa'vinaŋqWA after him (inv.) (he sang)
qanɪ' uv^{w}i·'naŋqɔp·A house (obj.) it (inv.)-behind-at, in back of the house
ɥmu'v^{w}ɪnaŋqwɔp·A behind them (inv.)
aŋa'vɪnaŋqWA'patciA tavɪ'p·ïγa' he-behind-at-being-obj. lit, (he) lit behind him
niŋwï'v^{w}inaŋqWApatcuγwa'amï person-behind-at-to-dual, (they) 2 (went) after everybody else (had gone)
uv^{w}i'n·aŋqwɔp·a(i)YU wa'iχ·Apïγa' it (inv.)-behind-at-acting deliberated, (they) were deliberating outside

nïv^{w}i·'na·^{a}p·ï behind me
'aŋa'vina·p·ï behind him

49. *-yu-*. This important element (see 1, 7, 17, 31, 37, 38, 43, 47; also 2, 3, 30, 45, 48) occurs almost entirely in composition with preceding postpositions. It is not properly a postposition itself, but is likely to be etymologically identical with the verbal subordinating *-yu-* (see § 55, 1, c). The translation ACTING that has been given for it in the preceding entries is only an awkward approximation to its significance. It seems to indicate that the action of the verb takes place under the circumstances indicated in the postpositional phrase, which may thus be conceived of as subordinately verbified.

Uncompounded *-yu-* seems to occur in:

pa'a'(i)yon·ι' pa(i)yü'ŋʊpïγa' high-acting-like return-momentaneous-past, high up (he went and) came back, (he) returned from high up

Compounded *-yu-* (particularly *-m·ayu-* and *-va·yu-*) is also often most easily rendered as FROM.

VERB MORPHOLOGY (§ § 51–56).

§ 51. *General Remarks on verbal form.*

(1) TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE. With very few exceptions, verb stems are inherently either transitive or intransitive, changes from one voice to the other being brought about by means of suffixes or changes in the final stem vowel (§ 53, 1, b, f). The only examples noted of verb stems that are both transitive and intransitive are: *kwip·a-* TO STRIKE, HIT and TO FALL ON BEING STRUCK, TO BE LAID LOW, and, not altogether without doubt, *paq·a-* TO KILL, BEAT (ONE PERSON) and TO BE SORE, TO SUFFER PAIN. Instrumental prefixes, it will be recalled, have an inherently transitivizing force, e. g. *pɔn'nɔ-χ(w)a-* TO MAKE A DRUMMING NOISE (intr.), *wï-p·ɔn'nɔa-* TO DRUM (WITH A DRUMSTICK).

(2) ABSOLUTE VERB FORMS. As has been abundantly illustrated, verb forms, even aside from nominal derivatives (§ 25, 1–6), often appear without either enclitic or suffixed tense elements. Such forms may be conveniently termed absolutes. They are used under various circumstances:

(a) When tense (and pronominal) elements are appended to another preceding word in the sentence, the verb appears as an absolute, e. g.:

a'itca·ŋanɪ qu'q·wɪ then-preterit-him (vis.)-I shoot, then I shot him; contrast *qʊ'qwɪ'tca·ŋanɪ* I shot him

(b) In imperative forms (see § 52).

(c) Frequently in interrogative forms, where reference is had to present time.

(d) Generally substantive verbs (*aro'a-*, *uru'a-*, § 56) have no present suffix, present (or general) time being implied when there is no tense suffix.

(e) Verbs of BEING and HAVING in *-kai-* (§ 26, 1, a and b) take no *-ÿï-* toexpress present time, but are tenseless, e. g. *qanɪ'χainɪ* I HAVE A HOUSE. It is probable that in such cases *-kai-* represents an old contraction of *-kai-ÿï-*, as the *-ÿï-* reappears after an intervening impersonal *-t·ua-* (see § 29, 14; § 32, 8).

§ 52. *The imperative.*

The imperative is only negatively determined as regards form, i. e. by the absence of tense elements, further by the frequent absence of the second person singular in forms that have a pronominal or nominal object. Syntactically, imperatives are remarkable in that they take an object in the subjective form. The pronominal subject or object, as usual, may be appended either to the verb or to a preceding element, e. g. hortatory *ïvʷï-* (§ 60, 2, d). Examples illustrative of these remarks are:

ivi''ⁱ drink-thou! drink!

avɪ'mɪtuγwa'ᵃ it-out of-thou! go out!

ïvʷï'' ivi'ŋʊ hortatory-thou drink-momentaneous! go ahead, take a drink!

qatcu'' wa'a'ŋɪ(y)a'p·ᴀ not-thou shout-negative! don't shout!

ɔvɪ'm·aχanɪ stick-give-me! give me a stick!

man·ɔ'q·ɔnį̈mʷɪ tɔ'nᴀ all (obj.)-us (exclus.) punch! punch all of us!

pᴀˣqa'ŋuaŋᴀ sari·'ⁱtc aŋᴀ kill-him (vis.) dog (subjective) he (vis.)! kill the dog!

tɔna''amï punch-them (inv.)!

qwïrɪ'k·ɪtsɪɑq· i'tcï tï''qa·'q·ᴀ arise-gerund (§ 55, 1, a)-it (vis.) this (inan. subjective) eat-it (vis.)! after getting up, eat this!

uvʷa·'ntïnɪ ya·'ŋqïk·ɪ it (inv.)-at-being (subjective)-me carry-for-hither! bring me (it) over there!

Imperatives with a dual or plural subject do not seem to occur with enclitic pronominal subject, but are characterized instead by an

enclitic *-ya-*, appended either to the verb form or a preceding word. In plural imperative forms the verb is plural in form; dual imperatives, particularly if intransitive, frequently add dual pronominal enclitic *-' . . .mï-* to *-ya-*: *-y'amï-*. Examples of plural and dual imperatives, with and without pronominal objects, are:

tï'qa'q·a(i)YA, tï'qa'q·ai' eat ye!
qatcu'i' mintɔ'n'ıa'p·A not-plur. imper. run (plur. verb-stem)- negative! do not run away (plur.)!
tɔγɔ'q·wıya'amï run (sing. verb-stem)-imper.-dual! ye 2 run!
mi̯m^{w}ı'yαnI tɔ'nA ye-plur. imper.-me punch (sing. verb-stem)! ye 2 punch me!
tɔna'y'aŋWA ye 2 punch him (inv.)!
i(y)ɛ'nUq(w)a(i)ya·q·A this-at (§ 50, 4, 1)-plur. subject-plur. imper.-it (vis.)! here it is! (speaking to more than two; note idiomatic use of imperative)
wï'qa'm'ıyaA^{x}qa'amï cover-plur. imper.-it (vis.)-dual! ye 2 cover it!
qatcu'ya·mï yaŋwı''(y)ap·A not-plur. imper.-them (vis.) carry (sing. verb-stem)-negative! do ye 2 not carry them 2!

What is probably an emphatic imperative is sometimes formed by appending enclitic *-aq·a-* to the verb or a preceding word. In all probability this *-aq·a-* is merely an idiomatic use of enclitic pronominal *-aq·a-* IT (VIS.); it has the position of a pronominal enclitic. That it is not to be merely construed as a pronominal object, properly speaking, is shown by its use with inherently intransitive as well as transitive verbs. On the other hand, it does not seem to occur where the verb has a true pronominal object. Examples of imperative *-aq·a-* are:

qa·'aq·A sing!
tɔγɔ'q·wı(y)aq·A go ahead and run!
tɔγɔ'q·wıya·q·A ye 2 run!
nïv^{w}α'ya·q·A cv·'p·a·ro'^{a} I-at-plur. imper.-it (vis.) assemble! do ye come together at my place!

§ 53. *Internal stem changes.*

Verbal stem changes in Paiute that are of morphological significance may be classified under the heads of reduplication (see § 58, 3–6), vocalic modification, and consonantal affection. Only the two latter are discussed at this point.

(1) VOCALIC ALTERNATIONS. Vocalic alternations are either quantitative or qualitative, the former, insofar as they are of morphological

significance, being relatively infrequent. In all, six types of vocalic alternation may be recognized.

(a) *Vocalic lengthening.* A short vowel may be lengthened, a long one over-lengthened (e. g. *a·* to *a·a*), to indicate the idea of IN VAIN, TO NO EFFECT, e. g.:

qa·'ap·ïγa' sang to no effect (< *qa·-* to sing)
'a·'aip·ïγa' said without effect (< *ai-* to say)
a·'mpaχai' talks to no purpose (< *ampa'χai'* talks)
'o·'n'nıŋ'uq·WA did it (inv.) in vain (< *un·ı'ŋ'uq·WA* did it)

These examples indicate that it is regularly the first vowel of the word which is lengthened.

Another group of cases of vocalic lengthening seems to be associated with the idea of continuation. Examples are not very numerous:

pïnı'ŋwïn·o·n·uq·wıχw'aiva'aŋWA look-stand about (*-ŋwïn·o·-* < *-ŋwïn·ï-* to stand, assimilated by following *-n·uq·wı-*)-run-go-future-him (inv.), shall go to stand around looking for him
ųni·'ⁱχu'umï do (< *ųni-*)-subordinating-them (inv.), while they 2 were so doing
pɔ·'t·ɔ'qwa- to be spherical: *pɔ'tɔ'ŋ'ı'ķai-* to be spherical
tsı·'tsıŋwaγαip·ïγain·ı' it seemed that (arrows) were stuck in in several places (lengthened from normal reduplicated *tsıt·sı-* > *ts·tsı'-*)

Perhaps *ma·'n·i·-c·ampa-* BARELY is similarly lengthened from *man·i'-c·ampa-* THAT-WAY-ONLY, ONLY IN THAT WAY, e. g.:

uᵛwa''a·x·ı ma·'ᵃni·ⁱc·ampA ya'uq·WIpïγa' it (inv.)-over barely entered, barely escaped by going over it

(b) *Vocalic alternation to indicate number (and voice).* In certain verbs, the final vowel is *a*, *a·*, *ɔ*, or *u* in the intransitive singular, *i* in the intransitive plural and in the transitive. Examples are:

tɔp·a-q·i- (tree, feather, tooth) comes loose — *tɔvi-tcai-* several come loose; *-tɔp·i-n'na-* to pluck out one; *-tɔvi-tca-* to pluck out several

qap·a-q·i- to stop (intr.) — *qavi-tcai-* several stop; *qavi-tca-* to stop several

ïip·a-q·i- one comes out, emerges — *ïivʷi-tcai-* several emerge

paγa-q·i-, *paq·a-q·i-* to tear (intr.) — *paγ(a)i-tcai-* several tear (intr.), are worn out; *-paq·i-n'na-* to tear one; *-paγ(a)i-tca-* to tear several

tcaŋwïq·a·- one disappears
qɔvɔ-q·(w)i-, *qɔp·ɔ-q·(w)i-* to break (intr.)

wiyum'mu-q·(w)i-ŋqï- to lash (horse) on buttocks, causing him to start (secondarily transitivized by *-ŋqï-*, § 29, 10)

tcaŋwïk·i- several die off
qɔvi-tcai- several break (intr.); *qɔp·i-n'na-* to break one; *qɔvi-tca-* to break several
wi·yum'mi- (Ute), also *winɔm'mi-* to jerk up one's buttocks (continuously)

(c) *Vocalic alternation to indicate aspect.* In a few cases a final *-a-* vowel of the stem when used iteratively (or continuatively) contrasts with an *-i-* of the stem when used semelfactively, e. g.:

up·uq·(w)i- to bounce (once)
-q·i- semelfactive intransitive (§ 30, 3)

ovʷoq·(w)a-γ(ɛ)i- to bounce up and down
-γa- continuative intransitive (§ 30, 1)

(d) *Vocalic alternation to indicate active* (*-a·-*) *and medio-passive or static* (*-i-*). A very considerable number of verb stems alternate in their final vowel between *a·* and *i*, a smaller number between *ya·* and *i*. The former form of the stem is used for the active intransitive (or transitional) voice, the latter for the medio-passive, static, or resultative voice. The *i-* forms seem to be durative, the *a·-* forms tend to be momentaneous. Examples are:

i·-p·ɔtsin'i-k̲·ai- to be ready to start off
muntun'ni- to lie covered up
qɔi'ni- to hang together in two parts
-m'unuq·wi- to be round
nɔq·ɔm'mi-(k̲·ai-) to be bent, *nɔq·ɔ-m·i-* to bend (slowly; intr.)
cɔ·i-k̲·ai- to be bent
naŋa-ntup·i- several are angry (*-tup·i-* plural stem found only in compounds, parallel to sing. *-ya'ai-* to die)
patcaq·wi- to be wet
pat·ca'i-k̲·ai- to be fastened on to

pɔtsin'na·- to start off (for a race)
muntuna·- to lie down and cover oneself up
qɔi'na·- to come together, dangle in two parts
-m'unuq·wa·- to become round
nɔq·ɔm'ma·- to give a bend (intr.)
cɔ·ya·- to bend (intr.)
naŋa-ntup·a·- several get angry
patcaq·wa·- to get wet
pat·ca'a·- to be left fastened

ut·cum'mi- to have one's eyes closed — *ut·cum'ma·-* to close one's eyes

pɔn·i- to stick out one's buttocks, *pɔn·i-k̲·ai-* to have one's buttocks stuck out — *pɔn·a·-* to stoop and stick out one's buttocks

In some cases that have been recorded, there seems to be little appreciable difference in meaning between the *i-* and *a·-* forms, though this may be due to inadequate translation, e. g.:

tcuγwi- to approach (tr.) — *tcuγwa·-* dit.
cïrï'i- to be frightened, surprised — *cïrï'ya·-* dit.

(e) *Alternation of transitional -i- and static -a·-.* This type, apparently the exact opposite of the preceding, is sparsely represented, e. g.:

pɔn·ɔ'a·- to be full — *pɔn·ɔ'i-* to become full

(f) *Alternation of intransitive -i-, -a·- and transitive -a-.* In these verbs it is difficult to discover the difference in meaning between the *-i-* and *-a·-* forms (cf. d above). In some cases only *-i-* alternates with *-a-*. The alternation of *-i-* and *-a-* is evidently an old Uto-Aztekan feature; cf. such Nahuatl doublets as *cotoni* TO BREAK (intr.): *cotona* TO WOUND, CUT; *tomi* TO OPEN UP (intr.): *toma* TO OPEN (tr.), DELIVER; and numerous others. Paiute examples are:

tuγwi-, tuγwa·- fire goes out — *tuγwa-* to put out a fire
yauq·wi-, yauq·wa·- to enter, sun sets — *-yauq·wa-* to push in
to·q·wi- to stretch (intr.) — *-to·q·wa-* to stretch (tr.)
mïn·ɪc·ɪ- to turn, roll (intr.) — *tsɪ-mïn·ɪc·a-* to turn (meat) with a spit
ïmpïn'i-, ïmpïn'na·- to be raised resting on (something) — *ïmpïn'na-* to raise so as to uncover
ɔvi- hair is out, *ɔva·-* hair comes out — *ɔva-* to pull out hair, pluck feathers
nu'i-k̲·ai- several stand — *nu'a-* to throw down several

Here may belong also:

wïn·ï- to stand — *wïn·ai-* to throw down (a person)

Transitives of these verbs with animate object end in *-a·-ŋqï-* (§ 29, 10), e. g.:

tca·'mpïn·a·ŋqïp·ïγai(y)aq·A (< *tca-ïmpïn·a·-*) lifted it (vis.) up from (him)
maru'x·UqWa·ŋqïaŋA to stretch him (vis.)

It is not clear whether these forms are to be considered as transitivised from intransitives in *-a·-* or as built on *-a-* transitives with lengthened vowel before *-ŋqï-*.

(2) CONSONANTAL AFFECTION. Two groups of cases are to be recognized, glottalization and gemination of stem consonants. These seem to be equivalent processes. Not infrequently they occur together in the same form, e. g. *ts·ƛa'p·in'NA* TO CUT (momentaneously): *ts·ƛaviNA* TO CUT (duratively).

(a) *Glottalization of verb stems.* This process operates:

1. To indicate distribution, e. g.:

WA'tcü'ŋwɪyun·ɪ' four	*wa'a'ŋWAtcüŋwɪyun·ɪ'* eight (lit., four here and there)
waŋwi- several stand	*wa'a'ŋWɪtuip·ïγa'* caused (them) each to stand
yun·a- to put several down (in one place)	*yun·a'(a)i-* to put down in several places

2. To indicate iteration, e. g.:

iyɔn·a- to carry in one's arms	*iyɔn'na-* to carry several times
ya·-vaγai- to fear	*yï'ï-p·aq·ai-* to be afraid several times (note irregular change of *-a·-* to *-ï·-*)

3. To indicate momentaneous activity, e. g. *-n'na-* momentaneous transitive with singular object: *-n·a-* durative transitive with singular object (§ 30, 4).

Glottalization alone as a grammatical process is relatively rare. Generally it accompanies distributive or iterative reduplication (see § 58, 3 and 4), less often gemination alone (see b).

(b) *Gemination in verb stems.* Gemination primarily denotes momentaneous activity; the contrast between momentaneous and durative, as might be expected, tends to become one of singularity and plurality. Gemination is very commonly employed with the momentaneous suffixes *-q·i-* (§ 30, 3) and *-n'na-* (§ 31, 2, c). Other examples of momentaneous gemination are:

tïγai- to happen	*tïq·aŋ'wi-* to take place (at one moment of time)
nayava- to seem	*nayaṗ·a·-ŋu-* to get to seem
naγarï-ŋqï- to dodge	*naγat·ï-ŋqï-* to dodge quickly
yauγwi-tcai- several enter	*yauq·wi-* one enters
ta-'niγi- to stick one's foot in (duratively, customarily)	*ta-'nik·i-* to stick one's foot in (momentaneously)
tsɪ-q·ur'u- to be poking in a hole with the point of a stick	*tsɪ-q·ut·u-na-* to take out of a hole with a stick
qï-nivuγwi- to nibble at	*qï-nip·uγwi-* to gnaw
tuvʷun'ni- to be waking up	*tup·un'ni-* to wake up (at once)
nɔ·'ɔrua- to be pregnant	*nɔ·'ɔt·ua-* to appear pregnant (right off)
yï'ïγi-ḵ·a- several swallow	*yï'ïk·i-* one swallows
-γa- durative suffix (§ 30, 1)	*-q·i-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 3)

Far less frequently gemination indicates iterative activity, e. g.:

qaq·arï- to run away	*qaq·at·ï-* to run away several times
ya·-vaγai- to fear	*yï'ï-p·aq·ai-* to be afraid several times

Even these examples are really but special forms of gemination accompanying reduplication. Combined gemination and reduplication, to indicate distribution or iteration, is common (see § 58, 3, h; § 58, 4, a, d, f).

§ 54. *Singular and plural stems.*

All verbs are determined as regards singularity or plurality of the subject, less often of the object also; the singular form includes reference to the dual. The most common method of indicating plurality of the subject is by the use of the suffix *-q·a-* (§ 31, 1, c); for other suffixes indicating or implying plurality of subject or object, see § 31, 1, a and b; § 31, 2, a-d. Vocalic alternation of the final vowel of the stem is also sometimes associated with change of number (see § 53, 1, b). The idea of distribution expressed by reduplication often passes over into that of plurality of the subject or object (see § 58, 3).

Besides these formal methods of expressing number, there are certain verb stems that are inherently limited in their reference to number, the singular-dual of the intransitive subject or transitive object being expressed by a stem which is etymologically distinct

from that for the plural of the intransitive subject or transitive object. Certain of these stem contrasts are:

qarï- one sits, dwells	*yuγwi-* several sit, dwell
avi- one lies	*qwavi-* several lie
wïn·ï- one stands	*waŋwi-*, *nu'i-(ƛ·ai-)* several stand
pa(i)yï- one returns	*pan·aγa-* several return
pitcï- one arrives	*ïm^{w}ïi-* several arrive
paγ(a)i- one goes, walks	*pərɔ-* several travel; *mia-* several go
ap·ïi- one sleeps	*aq·ɔ'i-* several sleep
tɔγɔq·wi- one runs	*yon·i-*, *yon'ni-* several run
qaq·arï- one runs away	*mintɔn'ni-* several run away
ïγa- one enters	*waγi-* several enter
wï'ï-(q·u-) one falls	*yun·ia-* several fall
nɔntsi- to fly (not limited in number)	*ya·c·ï-* several fly off
tsik·an'na·- one appears	*maya-(ŋu-)* several appear
tɔŋqwa·- one (bow) snaps	*qavi-tcai-* several snap (plurality indicated by *-tcai-*, not by stem)
ya·-, *yaŋwi-* to carry one (object)	*yu'a-* to carry several (objects)
qwïï- to take one (object)	*tu'um·a-* to take several (objects)
watcï- to put one (object)	*yun·a-* to put several (objects)
paq·a- to kill one (anim. obj.)	*qɔ'i-*, *qɔγɔ'i-* (reduplicated) to kill several
wïn·ai- to throw down one	*nu'a-* to throw down several
(tsi)-'niγi- to stick in one	*(tsi)-ŋwaγ(a)i-* to stick in several (cf. *waγi-* above)
mi'na-(q·i-) one (object) breaks off	*mimiɔ'i-* (reduplicated) several break off (irregularly related to singular form)

Several of these verb stems are also used as the second element in compound verbs. The whole verb may be characterized as singular or plural in this way; a pluralizing *-q·a-* may thus become unnecessary, e. g. *ivi-* ONE DRINKS: *ivi-ƛ·a-* SEVERAL DRINK, but *ivi-ŋwïn·ï-* ONE DRINKS STANDING: *iviŋwaŋwi-* SEVERAL DRINK STANDING. Singularity or plurality of the object is not disturbed by composition, e. g. *paq·a-ŋwïn·ï-* ONE STANDS AND KILLS ONE; *paq·a-ŋwaŋwi-* SEVERAL STAND AND KILL ONE; *qɔ'i-ŋwïn·ï-* ONE STANDS AND KILLS SEVERAL; *qɔ'i-ŋwaŋwi-* SEVERAL STAND AND KILL SEVERAL. Similarly, note

qwïï- ONE TAKES ONE; *qwïïq·a-* SEVERAL TAKE ONE; *tu'um·a-* ONE TAKES SEVERAL; *tu'um·aq·a-* SEVERAL TAKE SEVERAL.

A small number of singular and plural verb stems are used only as second elements in verb compounds, e. g.:

-kwa'(a)i- one goes (see § 28, 1; practically suffix)

-ya'(a)i- to die (independent stem), e. g. *tïγïi-ya'ai-* to die of hunger, to be hungry

-m·ia- several go (less frequently used as independent stem)

-tup·i-, *-tup·a·-* (only in compounds; perhaps identical with *tup·i-* to be used up), e. g. *tïγïi-tcup·i-* several are hungry, *naŋa-ntup·a·-* several get angry

uˣqu'mpu-tcaq·ai- one (thing) goes off in dust

uˣqu'mpu-tcɪtcai-χw'ai- several (things) go up in dust

The plural *-navitcɪ-* TO BECOME (perhaps reciprocal *na-ˢ* + *pitcï-* TO ARRIVE: TO ARRIVE WITH ONE ANOTHER, TO GET TO BE AMONG THEMSELVES) either corresponds to singular *-tïq·aŋ'wi-* (also used independently) TO BECOME or is used as a verbal quasi-suffix of plurality, e. g.:

qatcut·ïq·aŋ'wi- to not-become, one gets tired out

qatcun·avitcɪ- several get tired out

patcaq·wi- one is (*or* gets) wet

patcaq·winavitcɪ- several get wet

tuγwi- fire goes out

tuγwinavitcɪ- fires go out

§ 55. *Verb syntax.*

Under this head may be conveniently grouped a number of phenomena that affect the verb in relation to other words in the sentence.

(1) SUBORDINATING ELEMENTS. Subordinate clauses, denoting cause, time, condition, concession, or attendant circumstance, are extremely frequent in Paiute. Those of these clauses that are used with logical subjects put them in the objective form. Thus, a sentence like WHEN I CAME, YOU WERE AWAY is rendered WHEN ME CAME, YOU WERE AWAY. In all probability the objective is in these cases to be interpreted genitively, the subordinating element as a specialized postposition; e. g. AT MY COMING, YOU WERE AWAY. This receives some support from the fact that a few of the ordinary postpositions may be suffixed to verb forms (see 2 below). However, of the verb-subordinating elements only *-yu-* (see c below), possibly also *-q·u-* (see e), is employed also with nouns (see § 50, 4, 49). The

tense elements *-pa·*- (§ 32, 4) and *-q·ai-* (§ 32, 3) may precede the subordinating suffix, but not the other tense elements. Five subordinating suffixes are found, the first three of which introduce clauses referring to the subject of the main clause, the other two clauses with a different subject.

(a) *-t·sɪ-* gerund. Subordinates in *-t·sɪ-* are here termed gerunds because they have no expressed subject, though they may have an object. Their logical subject is always the same as that of the main clause. They indicate antecedent circumstance or activity and are most appropriately translated in English by participial phrases: HAVING —ED. It is at least possible that the gerund *-t·sɪ-* is etymologically related to the animate noun suffix *-tsɪ-* (§ 24, 1, f); such a sentence as HAVING SO DONE, HE RETURNED would then originally have meant THE ONE WHO DID SO RETURNED. Examples are:

maa'itsɪŋw imi'ŋwa'aiŋwᴀ pa(i)yɪ'k·ɯa' find-gerund-him (inv.) thou-with-him (inv.) return-hither-will; having found him with you, (he) will come home

ɥnɪ'ɬ̣·aŋumï·ts· mɨ̨n·ï's·'its uŋwa't·uɬ̣·aŋup·ïγa' after having so done (plur.), having returned, (they) caused (it) to rain

ɥni'ts·, ɥni'ŋuts· having so done, then (frequently used as sentence connector); *ɥni'ŋUtsɪŋwᴀ* then he (inv.)

nï' nɔn·ɔ'c·ɪ' qwɪya'tcɪtcɪq·aŋ'wɪts· I dream-present bear-become-gerund, I dream that I turned into a bear

Future gerunds in *-va·t·sɪ-*, *-mpa·t·sɪ-* BEING ABOUT TO—are also very common and frequently found in idiomatic turns. Examples are:

aχa'nᵛᶻ̨ava·tsɪŋwaŋw a'ɪᶻ̨kai' how-do-plural-future-gerund-him (inv.)-ye say-plural-present? being about to do what with him say ye? what do you (plur.) say you are to do with him?

cɨ̈na'ŋwavin·ï' quna'iaraŋwᴀ qwïï'va·ts 'an·ï'k·ᶻᴀ coyote-like fire-obj.-our (inclus.) take-future-gerund do-present, it seems Coyote does so being about to take our fire, Coyote acts as though intending to take our fire

nɨ̈'nɪantca·ŋᴀ pᴀˣqq'umpa·tsɥn iya't·ï qoq·wɪ me-preterit-he (vis.) kill-future-gerund-me vainly shoot, he vainly shot being about to kill me, he tried to kill me but shot in vain

(b) *-kai-* WHEN, WHILE, AS; appears as spirantized *-γai-* or nasalized *-ŋqai-*. This is a true subordinating suffix, attached to verb forms whose subject is the same as that of the main verb. While *-t·sɪ-*

forms denote antecedent activity, *-kai-* forms denote contemporaneity of action. Examples are:

sv·'v^{w}'aŋ$_{WA}$ qarï'm'mıaxa' *tïŋwï''ıva'* if (§ 60, 2, d)-he (inv.) sit-move-as fall-will; if he rides, he will fall down

qa·'(ai)$_{YÏ}$ tï'qa'γa' sings while eating

yaγa'γaitca·ŋ ivi'ŋ$_{U}$ cry-as-preterit-he (vis.) drink-momentaneous; while he cried, he drank

qa·'(a)i paγ(a)'iŋk̲a' sings while walking

qA^{x}qa't·ï'pïγa' *cua'ŋumıŋk̲aȧik·$_{WA}$* sat (iteratively) while eating it (inv.) up each time

-kai-c·u- (with enclitic *-c·u-*; see § 19, 2, k) often implies immediate sequence: AS SOON AS, e. g.:

a'iχaic·$_{U}$ *cina'ŋwaφ$_{I}$* *quna'mantï* *wï'qa'm'$_{MI}$k̲aip·ïγa'* say-as-just coyote fire-at-being (obj.) covered; as soon as Coyote said so, (he) covered some of (the) fire

Concessive clauses of the same subject as the main clause are formed by appending *-c·ampa-* (§ 19, 2, j) to *-kai-*, e. g.:

iya'vaχaŋqaic·ampa·ŋ$_{A}$ though fearing him (vis.), (he went to meet him)

(c) *-yu-* WHEN, WHILE, AS. This subordinating suffix seems to be identical in meaning with *-kai-* (see b above). It is suffixed only to stems or verb suffixes ending in *-ai-*. It always replaces *-kai-* after verb suffixes ending in *-ai-* (e. g. resultative subordinate *-q·ai-yu-* WHEN SAYING, not **-q·ai-γai-*). After verb stems in *-ai*, *-kai-* is used (e. g. *ai-γai-* WHILE SAYING), unless followed by enclitic *-c·ampa-*, but not, e. g., *-c·u-* (hence *ai-γai-c·u-*, but *ai-yu-c·ampa-*). Examples of *-yu-* clauses are:

niŋwï'χaiyu' *ų'n$_{I}$* person-be-as-thou do! act like a person!

naŋqa'q·ai'yuq·$_{WA}$ when (he) heard it (inv.)

Clauses in *-yu-c·u-*, analogous to those in *-kai-c·u-* and *-ku-c·u-*, are found after verbal suffixes in *-ai-*, e. g.:

ųni'l̲k̲·aiyuc·$_{U}$ *wï'ï'k·$_{UP}$ïγa'* do-resultative-as-just fall-momentaneous-past; while so doing, (he) fell down

Concessive clauses in *-yu-c·ampa-* replace forms in *-kai-c·ampa-* after all verbs in *-ai-*, e. g.:

imi'ntcu' aru''ᵃ pan·ɔ'x·qwaiyuc·ampA na'a'ivätcï thou-interrogative art be-wet-when-only burn-usitative-participle, art thou wont to burn even when wet?

qa'tcU qU'qwɪ'ŋ'waiYUcampA not shoot-negative-as-only; though not shooting, (he kept on singing)

(d) *-q·a-* WHEN, IF. This subordinating suffix characterizes antecedent temporal and conditional clauses whose subject is different from that of the main clause. Examples are:

sv·'vʷa·ŋA tɔn·a'q·anI tɔγɔ'q·wɪva' if-him (vis.) hit-if-me (= my) run-will; if I hit him, (he) will run

imi'A pAˣqa'ŋUtïïqa'amI maŋac·U yaχa'va·n·ɪ' thee (= thy) kill-passive-if-thee (= thy) he (vis.) cry-will; if you get killed, he will cry

nï' naŋa'i'aiḵ·a·ŋA yaya'x·Aqaiχu' I anger-die-if-him (vis.; = his) cry (momentaneous)-perfective-irrealis; if he had got angry, I would have cried

ɥnɪ'ŋUqwa·ŋA tïvʷɪ'p·ïna·x·I yɪ'α'q·a·p·ïγa' do-momentaneous-him (vis.; = his) earth-into entered; when he did so, (it) went into (the) earth

MA'tca'iaŋqïq·a·ŋA wï'ï'k·Upï'γa' reach-for-when-him (vis.; = his) fall-momentaneous-past; as he reached for (it), (it) fell down

(e) *-ku-* WHILE, AS; appears as spirantized *-γu-*, nasalized *-ŋqu-*, or geminated *-q·u-*. This subordinating element also is used in clauses whose subject is different from that of the main clause. Unlike *-q·a-* clauses (see c), however, *-ku-* subordinates generally indicate contemporaneity of action. Examples are:

uŋwa'(u)x·U qan·ɪ't·ïŋwai' rain-when house-close-present; when (it) rains, (he) shuts the door

nï'amï pį̈nɪ'ḵ·ai(y)amï pɔ·'YAˣqaχoamï I-them (vis.) see-them (vis.) run-plural-while-them (vis.; = their), I see them running

tA'cɪ'p·a(u)x·U evening-when, in the evening

ya'a'iχutca·ŋαnI qïma'ŋWɪtuγwaŋU die-when-preterit-him (vis.; = his)- I other- to (§ 50, 4, 14)-momentaneous; I went away while he died

tA'cï'aŋqU dawn-when, at dawn

mam·a''utsɪA ts·pi'ŋum·iŋu̇ɥŋWA woman (obj. = genitive) appear-momentaneous-usitative-when-her (inv.), whenever the woman went out

-q·u- is not so freely used. It is regularly employed after verbalizing *-kai-* TO BE, TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, a and b), resultative *-q·ai-* (§ 30, 9), perfective *-q·ai-* (§ 32, 3), and negative *-ŋwa'ai-* (§ 57, 2, b). The *-ai-* of the first three of these elements becomes *-a·-*, the *-a'ai-* of the last becomes *-a(·)'-*. Examples are:

nï'ni a'ip·atsɪɣa·q·unɪ me (= my) boy-be-when-me (= my); when I was a boy, (it happened)
maa'ip·ï'ɣai(y)aŋA piŋwa'xa·q·U find-past-him (vis.) wife-have-when; found him having (her) for wife
ųni'ɬ̂·a·q·uαŋ ʻɔaiʻ while he was doing so, (it happened)
yaa'iŋqw'aiɬ̂·a·q·oaŋA when he (vis.) had gone out hunting
tï'qa'q·αŋwa'q·uť·uαc·ampA though others are not eating (for *-c·ampa-* see below; for order of impersonal *-ť·ua-* see § 29, 14)
-q·u- seems to be used also with a few verb stems, e. g.:
tava'iA maŋ'wï'c·ɪk·ᶻU sun-obj. rise-when, when (the) sun was up

Postpositional *-q·u-* referring to time (see § 50, 4, 37 and 41) may be identical with subordinating *-q·u-*; cf. also *ɪ·'tcuq·U* IN THE MORNING (§ 60, 2, a). In such a form as *tuχwa'r'uiŋuq·U* WHEN (IT) BECAME NIGHT, *-q·u-* is perhaps dissimilated from *-ŋqu-*.

Enclitic *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k) may follow *-ku-* as well as *-kai-*, e. g.:

a'iɣUcuaŋA as he (vis.) said so, (something happened)

-c·ampa- (§ 19, 2, j) is used in concessive clauses, e. g.:
yaɣa'x·UcamṗaŋWA even if he (inv.) cries
ųnɪ'ŋumɪŋqUcamṗa·q·amï do-momentaneous-usitative-when-only-it (vis.)-them (vis.; = their), though they were wont to do it

(2) VERB FORMS SUBORDINATED BY POSTPOSITIONS. A less important group of verb subordinates is of local significance. These are formed by suffixing to the verb, in a manner analogous to subordinate forms already discussed (see 1 above), certain nominal postpositions. Examples have been found of verbal local subordinates in *-p·a·-* (participialized *-p·a·ntï-*, § 50, 4, 38; and in compounded forms: *-p·a·ntuɣwa-*, § 50, 4, 38; *-p·a·yu-*, § 50, 4, 38); *-va-* (§ 50, 4, 37); and apparently *-yu-n·ia-* (§ 50, 4, 49). Doubtless several other postpositions may be used to make subordinate clauses of local reference.

(3) PRESENT FORMS AS LOOSE SUBORDINATES. Now and then a verb form in present *-yï-* (§ 32, 1) occurs as a sort of loosely employed subordinate to a preceding verb, not necessarily of the same tense. Examples are:

piÿï'a·ŋA ma'ip·ïγa ι(y)ä'n·uÿïaq·A heart-obj.-his (vis.) find-past this-at (§ 50, 4, 1)-present-it (vis.), found his heart (that) it is present there, found his heart right there

qatcU qa·'va·ŋwa' pa'a'n·i' not sing-will-negative high-present, will not sing (it) is loud, will not sing loud

(4) SYNTACTIC USE OF PARTICIPLES. Participles are extremely in evidence in Paiute. They are employed in a variety of syntactic ways:

(a) Attributively, when they may often be translated as relative clauses or as adjectives.

(b) Denominatively, e. g. *to·'γwantï* FIGHTING > FIGHTER, secondarily HAVASUPAI INDIAN; *uv^{w}a·'nt aRï* THERE-BEING IT, THE THING THAT IS THERE.

(c) Adverbially, particularly with verbalized postpositional forms, e. g. *tümp^{w}ι'a·ŋ 'ava·ntïA pïni'k·a'* ROCK-OBJ.- HE (VIS). IT-AT-BEING-OBJ. LOOK, i. e. HE LOOKS THERE AT THE ROCK rather than HE SEES THE ROCK THAT IS THERE.

(d) Predicatively after verbs, particularly substantive verbs, e. g. *v'itc aro''amι aγan an·i'ntcï* THIS (INAN.) IS-USITATIVE HOW DOING? HOW DOES IT WORK? *qatcu an·ik· ųŋwα'ŋw'ait·ï* NOT DOES RAINING (NEG.), IT DOES NOT RAIN.

(e) In lieu of finite verbs, particularly after independent personal pronouns. Such participles may be considered as special cases of predicative usages (d), the substantive verb being omitted. They refer to general time as a rule. Examples are:

a'imintïmï say-usitative-participle-plural, (those) wont to say, (they) always say

nï' to·'γwantï I fighting, I am a fighter

i'mI cïï'χaχwai'ť·uim·ιntïnI thou squaw-bush-get-go-causative-usitative-participle-me, you always cause me to go to get squaw-bush twigs

(5) SYNTACTIC USE OF ADJECTIVES. Practically all adjectives are properly verbal in form. As such, they may be predicatively employed, like any verb; or, in participial form, attributively or denominatively (e.g. *a'a't·ï tɔγɔ'q·wιtcï* GOOD-BEING RUNNING, GOOD RUNNER). They may also be employed, in their bare stem-form, as the first, rarely second, elements of noun compounds (see § 18, 1, d and e).

A few adjectives are properly nominal in form, e. g. *mιa''p·ïts·*

SMALL; *ɪ'·t·ümpï* OLD. An independent adjective may be used attributively to refer to an incorporated noun, e. g.:

mɪa''p·ïtsɪA wana'RUpïγa' little-obj. net-make-past, made a little net

§ 56. *Substantive verbs.*

(1) FORMATION OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS. Substantive verbs are formed from the demonstrative stems *a-* and *u-* by means of a verbalizing *-ro'a-*: *aro'a-* TO BE (vis.), *uru'a-* TO BE (inv.). These forms may be used with all nouns, animate or inanimate, and independent pronouns. These simple forms are also used as the nucleus of a set of substantive verbs of specific pronominal reference, composed of the pronouns *uŋwa-* HE, *um·ï-* THEY, and *uru-* IT, to which are respectively appended (not phonetically suffixed) *aro'a-* for the visible, *uru'a-* for the invisible, forms. It is remarkable that the *u-* pronouns, which are properly invisible, should be used in visible substantive verbs as well, visibility and invisibility being expressed by the *a-* or *u-* of the verb proper. The pronominal substantive verbs thus are:

uŋw aro'a- he is (vis.)	*uŋ uru'a-* he is (inv.)
um^{w} aro'a- they are (vis.)	*um uru'a-* they are (inv.)
ur aro'a- it is (vis.)	*ur uru'a-* it is (inv.)

These may be conveniently written as single words, e. g. *uraro'a-* IT IS (VIS.). The present tense of substantive verbs is designated either by the normal *-yï-* (§ 32, 1) or, more frequently, by the absence of a tense suffix. The substantive verb may also take on other tense suffixes, the modal *-vï-* (§ 33, 2), the usitative suffixes (§ 30, 10 and 11), the participial *-rï-*, and the nominal abstract *-n·a-* (§ 25, 3).

(2) USE OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS.

(a) In perhaps the majority of cases the substantive verb follows and is phonetically disconnected from its predicate noun or subject; an adverb, however, may precede and the predicate noun follow the verb. In these cases the final vowel of the word preceding the substantive verb is elided. Examples are:

cina'ŋwav aru''$^{\alpha}$ coyote it-is

ɪ'itc aro''ami' qa'tcU quna''ap·A this (inan.) be-usitative not fire-negative, this (that we have been burning) is not fire

qatc aro''$^{\alpha}$ tïv^{w}a'tsɪ'ap·A not it-is wolf-negative, it is not Wolf

imï'aru' aru' aru''ɑnA thee (= thy)-interrogative it-is being (= property), does it belong to thee?

aro''ap·ïγa' (it) was

aŋai aro''avï i'mI pi̯nı'k̟·aik̟·ɑntï whom be-would thou having-seen? I wonder whom you saw?

narï'γïvʷïγɑntïmʷ aru''an·ïmpïγa' reciprocal-friend-being-plural he (inv.)-usitative-past, (they) were always friends to each other

aχav oru''avï uni'n'nintcï what-at be (inv.)-would do-continuative-participle? where would (he) be doing? I wonder where (he) is!

aχav oru''avï uru''ɑRï what-at be-would being? I wonder where it is!

a·'χawantcïq·antïaq· uŋwaru''ᵃ having-hidden-it (vis.) he-is, he must have hidden it

pua'χant ɥwaru''ᵅ medicine-man he-is

tïvʷı'ts·ampa·ŋ uŋuru''ai' very-only-he (vis.) he-is (inv.)-present, truly he is

ni̯'nı 'umʷaru' niŋwï'ntsıŋwïnI me (= my) they-are person-plural-my, they are my persons

pAˣqa'ŋUtïï̯pïγantïm umuru''ᵃ kill-passive-past-participle-plural they-are (inv.), they are having been killed, they must have been killed

uŋwa'iAc uraru' aru''anA him (inv.; = his) it-is being (= property), it is his

'a'(i)yuχv·p· ururu''ai' good-irrealis-past passive partic. it-is (inv.)-present, it would be good

(b) A second method of employing substantive verbs is to attach them to the preceding predicate noun or subject (noun or independent pronoun), a glottal stop separating the *a-* or *u-* of the substantive verb from the preceding final vowel, which is preserved; e. g. *itcï' 'aru'a-* THIS (INAN.) IS beside *i''itc aru'a-*. Perhaps such forms as *itcï' 'aru'a-* may be considered as verbs with incorporated nominal (or pronominal) subject (§ 18, 2, f, ε); e. g. *itcï''aru'a-, cïnaŋwavı'uŋwaro'a-*. Forms of this type are obligatory for independent pronouns of the first and second persons. Examples are:

sari·'tcı år̥o'ᵅ dog it-is

na'a'ints·tsı' aru'ᵃ little-girl it-is (absolute: *na'a'intsıts·*)

imi'' 'aru' ᵘmʷɑ'nIqaivä·ntï thou art thus-resultative-future-participle, you'll be continuing in that way

iŋa'' 'aro''ᵃ ni̯'ni' she-here is me (= my), this is my (wife)

ıtcï'' 'aru'ɔm·ı' this (inan.) is-usitative, this really is (your dead relatives' brains)

m·^{w}a'rï åru'^{a} that (inan. vis.) is (how I move about)

wa·'n·arïχïvų' *ųwaru'* *tamɪ* two-reciprocal-friend he (i. e. they 2)-are we 2 (inclus.), we 2 are friends (*-vų'* assimilated to *ų-* from *-vï'*, thus confirming above hypothesis of composition; note also use of third personal pronominal substantive verb with first personal pronoun, suggesting that pronominal substantive verbs define number and animate *versus* inanimate, but not person)

nana'rïχïvuŋ' *ųwaru'* *^{u}m^{w}α'mï* plural reciprocal-friends he (= they)-are they (vis.), they are friends (*-vuŋ'* *ųw-* < *-vuŋ^{u}'uŋw-* < *-vïŋwï'-uŋw-*; *uŋw-*, instead of *um·^{w}-*, after animate plural *-ŋwï-* by "number dissimilation," cf. § 42, 5)

cina'ŋwavɪ' *uŋwaro'^{a}* it was Coyote

narï'γwɪ·nAPu' *uŋwaru'^{a}* powerful he-is (absolute: *narï'γwɪ·n·ap·ï*)

(c) The idea of BEING OF, BELONGING TO is normally expressed, as illustrated above in several examples, by preceding the substantive verb with an objective form of genitive significance, e. g.:

nï'niaru' *aro'* *aro''anA* me-interrogative is being, is it being of me? is it my property?

nï'ni 'ųwaru''^{a} me he-is, he is mine

imi' *'uraru''* (*aru''anA*) thee it-is (being), it is yours

By a curious idiom, however, the logical owner is sometimes put in the subjective, the thing owned in the objective, as though the substantive verb were to be translated directly as TO OWN, e. g.:

ɪtcï'an aro''ai' this (inan.)-obj.-I be- present, this is mine, I own this (literally, apparently, I AM OF THIS)

tąŋwa'' *'aro''am·ɪ'* *qa'tcU* *quna''ap·aiA* *taŋwa'i* *aRï* we (inclus.) be-usitative not fire-negative-objective us (inclus.; = our) it (subjective); we own not (real) fire, the (fire that is) ours (literally, apparently, WE ARE OF UNREAL FIRE; note that *taŋwa'i aRï*, though logically in apposition with objective *quna''ap·aiA*, is subjective in form)

(3) USE OF INANIMATE PRONOUNS IN LIEU OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS. There are commonly used constructions in Paiute that are analogous to such English locutions as IT IS I WHO — with predicate pronoun, except that there is no substantive verb expressed, the IT doing service for it. The pronominal form for IT employed in Paiute is the inanimate visible enclitic, *-aq·a-*. It is regularly preceded, it would seem, by enclitic *-a-*, *-'a-* (§ 19, 3, a). There is always a

strong emphasis on the independent pronoun to which the *-aq·a-* is attached. Examples are:

nï'a·q· 'ɔai' I-*a-* it (vis.), it is I (for *'ɔai'* see § 60, 3)

imi'nu(y)a·q· uc·U thou-like-it, maybe it is you (*-nua·q·* probably < *-nua-a-aq·a-*; for *uc·U* see § 60, 3)

ᵘmʷα'ŋa·q·A, mʷαŋ'a·'q·A that one it is, it is he (vis.)

ᵘmʷαŋ'a·'q·A niɣ'nu pɣinu'ɬ·aiɬ·ainA that (vis.) *-'a-* it (vis.) me (= my) see-perfective-verbal noun, it is he whom I saw, that's the man I saw

itcï'a·q·A niɣ'nu pïvʷa qarï'n·anI this (inan.) *-a-* it (vis.) me (= my) which-at staying-my, this is where I stay

ᵘ'u'rï'a·q·A pïvʷa·'ntïmʷanaŋqwan an·ι'p·ïnI that (inv.)-*'a-* it (vis.) which-at-being-from-my do-past passive partic.-my, that is where-from my having been done, that is where I am from

Somewhat similar to these constructions is the explanatory use of *mʷa'rï-* THAT (inan. vis.), equivalent to THAT IS WHY —, e. g.:

mʷar 'a'ïvʷιaŋ uR tɔ'ca'p·a(i)ya·tsιaŋA that now-he (vis.) it (inv.) white-breasted-he (vis.), that is the (why) now he (is termed) "white-breasted" (note that *uR* serves as article pronoun to *'a'ïvʷιaŋA tɔ'ca'p·a(i)ya·tsιaŋA*)

§ 57. NEGATION.

Negative forms are generally preceded by the negative adverb *qatcu-*, less often *qa*. The latter, though closely attached to the following word, is not a prefix, as shown by the unaffected phonetic treatment of the negatived word, e. g.:

nï' qa q·ari'ŋwa'ᵃ I not stay-negative, I was absent

mam·u'c·U qa yura'ɸAˣqaŋ'wai't·ïmï they are unconquerable

qatcu- is evidently compounded of *qa* and an element *-tcu-* which clearly goes back to spirantized *-tu-* (cf. usitative participle *-vatcï-* < *-va-tï-*, § 25, 6, c; and postpositions in *-pa-tc . . .-* < *-pa-t . . .-*, § 50, 4, 37); this is proven by comparative evidence, cf. Mono *gadu, garu* NOT. The noun, independent pronoun, or verb that is negatived is provided with a negative suffix or negative modification of a verbalizing suffix. All such negative elements contain a glottal stop. Somewhat infrequently, negative forms are found unpreceded by a negative adverb.

(1) NEGATIVED NOUNS AND PRONOUNS. All nouns and independent pronouns, including nominal derivatives of verbs (e. g. past passive participles in *-p·i-*, agentives in *-vi-ⁿ*, and even gerunds in

-tsɪ-), take as negative suffix *-'ap·a-* (*-a'ap·a-*, *-åp·a-*). Negative usitative participles (cf. § 25, 6, c) end in *-'ap·atcï-*; for negative forms of ordinary active participles in *-tï-*, see 2, b below. This suffix precedes objective *-ya-*. Examples are:

qatc aro''ᵃ tïvʷa'tsɪa'ap·A not it-is wolf-negative, it is not Wolf
qanɪ''ap·A house-negative, not a (real) house
qatc ɣ̨na'mpïtsɪåp·ai' not badger-negative-obj., not a badger (obj.)
qatc 'a't·ïnɔnɔc·ɪpï'ap·A not good-dream-past passive partic.-negative, what has not been well dreamt, not a good dream
qatc ᵃ'a't·ïnɔnɔc·ɪwɪ'ap·A not a good dreamer
qatc ᵃ'a't·ïnɔnɔc·ɪtsɪ'ap·A not good-dream-gerund-negative, not having dreamt well
qatcu''ɪŋw ï'ï'vä' pï'tcïdap·atcï not-he (inv.) here arrive-negative-usitative participle, he is not wont to arrive here
qatc imi''ap·A not thou-negative, it is not you

(2) NEGATIVED VERBS. Several negative elements are used.

(a) *Absolute negatives in -'ap·a-*. The absolute (tenseless) verb is negatived precisely like a noun, e. g.:

imi'ntcaaŋA qa p·Aᶻqa'ŋuåp·A thou-preterit-him (vis.) not kill-negative, you did not kill him
qatcu'nɪ qï'ï'ⁱ(y)ap·anɪ not-me bite-negative-me, do not bite me!

(b) *Non-absolute negatives in -ŋwa'ai-*. The form in *-ŋwa'ai-* without specific tense element functions as a negative present, e. g.:

nï' qatcu'aŋA qa·'t·uiŋwa'ᵃ I not-him (vis.) sing.-cause-negative, I do not let him sing

The future negative suffixes *-ŋwa'ai-* to *-va·-* (§ 32, 4), e. g.:

qatcun tïni'ava·ᵃŋwa'ainɪ not-me tell-future-negative-me, do not tell on me

The *-va·n·ia-* future (§ 32, 5) inserts the negative suffix between *-va·-* and *-n·ia-*, hence *-va·ŋwa'ain·ia-*. A somewhat puzzling form in *-va·n·iŋwa'ai(n·ia)-* also occurs. Examples are:

qatcu'Aᶻqa·ŋA p̨ɪnɪ'ɬ̡·aiva·ŋ'wain·ɪ' he (vis.) will not see it (vis.)
qatcu'aŋ ᵃ'a't·ïnɔnɔc·ɪva·n·ɪŋwa'ain·ɪ' he (vis.) will not dream well
qatcu'aŋ ᵃ'a't·ïnɔnɔc·ɪva·n·ɪŋwa'ᵃ he (vis.) will not dream well (stated as prediction)

The negative active participle ends in *-ŋwa'ait·ï-*, e. g.:

qa nɔnɔ'c·ɪŋwai't·ĭ not dreaming
qatcᵘ 'a'(i)yuŋwai't·i̯mï not one who is good (among) several

The negative correspondent of subordinating *-kai-* (§ 55, 1, b) is *-ŋwa'ai-yu-* (§ 55, 1, c), e. g.:

na·'nɪaŋ'waiʏUcampa·ŋA nïru'x·wA without saying anything, (give) him (vis.) to me

In certain forms *-ŋwa'ai-* is replaced by two-moraed *-ŋwa'a-*. The negative form of subordinating *-ku-* (§ 55, 1, e) is *-ŋwa'q·u-*, e. g.:

tï'qa'q·αŋwa'q·uc·amparaŋwA eat-plural-negative-while-only-we (inclus.), while we are not eating

There are absolute verb forms in *-ŋwa'ap·a-*, a suffix apparently combining *-ŋwa'a(i)-* and *-'ap·a-* (see a). It is not evident how they differ, if at all, from ordinary negative absolutes in *-'ap·a-*. Examples are:

qatcu'tca·mï paa'iyɔŋwa'ap·ac·U not-preterit-they (vis.) countable (?)-negative-again, they were many in number (*paiyɔ-* is only used as negative verb; cf. *qatcu'raŋwA paa'iyɔŋwa'aic·U* we (inclus.) are many)

Forms in *-ŋwa'ap·a-vi-* seem to be agentives of negative absolutes in *-ŋwa'ap·a-* (but cf. negatived agentives in *-vi'ap·a-*, 1 above), e. g.:

nï' qatc ampa'x·Aʟuiŋwa'ap·aɸI I not talk-cause-negative-agentive, I (am) one who causes not to talk, I do not allow to talk

(c) *Negative forms of verbalizing -kai-.* The verbalizing suffixes *-kai-* TO BE and *-kai-* TO HAVE (see § 26, 1, a and b) become *-'ai-* in the negative. This *-'ai-* takes the place of any specifically negative suffix. Examples are:

atcï'γa' has a bow
ᵃ'a'ŋavïγaip·ĭγa' had arms
taŋwa'ŋqaiva·ntï being about to have teeth
nɪ̯ŋwï'aγa' (it) has a person, a person is there

qa'tc atcï''a'ᵃ has not a bow
ᵃ'a'ŋavïdip·ï'a' had no arms
qa'tcU taŋwa''aiva·ntï not going to have teeth
nïŋwï'a·'ᵃ (< *-a-a'ᵃ*) no person is there

pa·'γaivätcï wont to be water

qatcu'ru'a·q· i'i'vä' pa·'a'aivätcï not-interrogative-it (vis.) here water-be not-usitative-participle, is there not wont to be water here?

The negative participle corresponding to positive *-kantï-* BEING, HAVING (§ 26, 1, a and b) is *-'ait·ï-*, e. g.:

naŋqa'vaγantï having ears

naŋqa'va'ait·ï earless

quna'q·aχantïmï having fire (plur.)

qa'tcU quna'i'nik̲·ait·ïmï not fire-owned-plural subject-not have-participle-plural, not having fire (plur.)

As we have already seen (§ 32, 6), narrative past *-p·ïγai-* is compounded of past passive participle *-p·ï-* and *-γai-* TO HAVE. Its negative correspondent is therefore *-p·ï'ai-*; *-γai-p·ïγai-* HAD —, WAS — is doubly negatived to *-'ai-p·ï'ai-*. The negative correspondent of participial *-p·ïγantï-* (§ 25, 6, e) is *-p·ï'ait·ï-*. Examples are:

qarï'p·ïγa' sat

qa'tcU qarï'p·ïa'a did not sit

pïnı'k̲·aip·ïγa'aik·WA saw it (inv.)

qa'tcU pïnı'k̲·aip·ï'a'aik·WA did not see it

NÏ'ci'm·wïαp·ïγantï having ever let go of any one

qa'tcU NÏ'ci'm·wïαp·ïa'it·ï having never let go of any one

The negative verbalizing *-'ai-* appears as *-'a·-*, *-a·'-* before subordinating *-q·u-*; *-a·'q·u-* WHEN HAS NOT, WHEN IS NOT thus corresponds to positive *-kaiχu-*, e. g.:

c·ci'naŋwavı(y)a·'q·ut·uαc·ampA coyote (distributively)-not be-when-impersonal-only, though others were not coyote-like

(d) Negatives in *-n·a'ai-*. A few verbs, chiefly verbs of sight, use *-n·a'ai-* as negative suffix instead of the normal *-ŋwa'ai-* (b above); participialized, *-n·a'ait·ï-*. Unlike *-ŋwa'ai-*, however, *-n·a'ai-* precedes future *-va·-* and is followed by narrative *-p·ïγai-*.

nï' pïnı't·uina·'a I see-cause-negative, I do not let (him) see

maŋa'c·uaq·A qa p·ïni'n·a'a he-it (vis.) not see-negative, he does not see it (but: *maŋa'c·uaq·A qa p·ïni'k̲·aiŋwa'a* he does not look at it)

pïnı'n·a'aiYU while not seeing

qatcu''uq·WA pïni'n·a'aip·ïγa' not-it (inv.) (he) saw

qatcu''q·wa'ᵃmï sɔtsɪ'n'naiva'aq̇·wɑmï not-it (inv.)-dual peep-negative-future-it (inv.)-dual, (you) 2 shall not peep at it
-rïc·u'ai-n·a'ai- to pay no attention to (see § 50, 4, 29)
qatcu'aŋ 'a't·ïnɔnɔc·ɪn·a·'ᵃ not-he (vis.) good-dream-negative, (I guess) he didn't dream well (but also: *qatcun 'a't·ïn·ɔn·ɔc·ɪŋwa'ᵃ* not-I well-dream)
mʷɑ'ŋa·q·ᴀ maa'in·in·aȧit·ï that one it (is) who has not been touched

(e) *Negative participle in -n·u(w)a'ait·ï-*. This form is perhaps the negative participle corresponding to usitative *-n·ï-*ⁿ (§ 30, 11), e. g.: *qa'tcᴜ na'a'in·u(w)a'ait·ï* never having burned.

§ 58. Reduplication.

Numerous reduplicated forms have already been quoted in the course of this paper. The process is freely used both in nouns and, especially, in verbs. It is frequently accompanied by glottalization or consonantal gemination or both. The reduplication is practically always initial; only a few cases of morphologically non-significant final reduplication occur. An initial vowel (v) reduplicates to v'v'- (ᵛ'v'-, 'v'-). If the word begins with a consonant + vowel (cv), the reduplication includes both (cv-', rarely cv·'-). A stem, however, that has a nasal consonant following initial stopped or affricative consonant + vowel (cvcⁿ) includes the nasal in the reduplication (cv-ⁿ'); the nasal of the reduplicating syllable is assimilated, if necessary, to the first consonant of the stem. The consonant following a reduplicating cv- may be either spirantized or geminated, according to type. Verbs and nouns with reflexive prefix *na-* reduplicate the *na-*, not the stem; verbs with instrumental prefixes reduplicate the prefix, not the stem (e. g. verbs in *ta-ᵍ* with the foot reduplicate to *tᴀ'ta'-ᵍ*). In the following, examples of reduplication are classified as to function, secondarily as to phonetic type.

(1) Constantly reduplicated nouns. A small number of nouns occurs only in reduplicated form. The reduplication seems to have no morphological significance. Reduplicating types cv-ᵍ and cv-ⁿ both occur. Examples are:

qᴀˣqa'ʀᴀ quail
tᴜ'tu'ɣuaɸɪ supernatural helper
mam·a''uts· woman; *mam·a''ᵃcaɣw(ɔ)its·* old woman
tanta'ŋwavi- man's brother-in-law
pïmpï'n'nɔavïɣaip·ï toad

ɔvi'-mpimpin·araʌpïtsɪ-ŋwï last, youngest of all (reduplication probably has distributive function)
pɑmpï'nɪ bucket (reduplicating vowel different from that of stem)

An example of reduplicating cv-^{n} in the case of a stem without internal nasal is *pɔmpɔ'tsats·* LIZARD (var.).

(2) DISTRIBUTIVE REDUPLICATION IN NOUNS. Distributive forms of nouns are quite frequent. They are not true plurals, though sometimes, particularly in the case of animate nouns, practically equivalent to such. A distributively conceived noun is practically always logically plural at the same time, but need not be.

(a) *Type* v'v-:

ïŋa·''p·its· baby
aŋavï- arm

ï'ï(·)'ŋ'ap·itsɪŋwï babies
a'a'ŋavïχaip·ïγa' each had an arm

(b) *Type* cv-^{s}:

pɔ·' trail
pia- mother
piŋwa- wife

pəvɔ'ɔ trails
pivi'araŋwA our (inclus.) mothers
pivi'ŋwa·mï their (vis.) wives

(c) *Type* cv-^{g}:[1]

pA'tca'raŋwA our (inclus.) shoe(s)

patsɪ- older sister

tɔtsɪ''ait·ï headless

wïγï- vulva
yu'u- leg
naŋwa- tracks

moa- father

pA'pa'tcaraŋwA our shoes (one pair to each)
pA'pa'tsɪamï their (vis.) older sister
tɔ'tɔ'tsɪ'ait·ïmï each having no head, headless people
wïwï'xïA vulvas (obj.)
yuyu''uχwaɪp·ïγa' each had a leg
nan·a'ŋaraŋwA our (inclus.) tracks
mom·ǫ'a(i)ya(u)ϕï (their) own fathers (obj.)

(d) *Type* cv-^{n}:

[1] In the case of stems beginning with *w*, *y*, and *n* there is no possibility of distinguishing spirantizing and geminating reduplication. Such examples will be arbitrarily considered as coming under geminating reduplication. Stems beginning with *s*, *c*, generally also *m*, have geminating reduplication.

puŋqu'ŋwïrαŋwA our (inclus.) horses (owned collectively)

pumpu'ŋquŋwïrαŋwA our horses (one or more owned individually by each one of us)

qa'nI house

qaŋqa'nI houses

(3) DISTRIBUTIVE REDUPLICATION IN VERBS. Distributive activity nearly always involves plurality of subject in transitive or intransitive verbs or of object in transitive verbs. Hence the distributive form of the verb is frequently enough the practical equivalent of a plural verb. Certain verbs, indeed, consistently use the distributive form instead of one with pluralizing *-q·a-* (§ 31, 1, c); e. g. *pïmpï'n'ɪᵡkai-* SEVERAL LOOK AT, not **pïni'ᵡk·aiᵡk·a-*.

(a) *Type* v'v-:

uŋwai- to hang

u'u'ŋwai'yïq·wA hangs them (inan.) all

ïmʷïi- several arrive

ïï'm'mïip·ïγa' (they) arrived each by himself

(b) *Type* cv-ˢ:

qwïi- to take one object

qwïγwïi- several take one object

tca'a'ip·ïγa' took hold of

tcatca'i'p·ïγaiamï they (vis.) each took hold of

(c) *Type* cv-ᵍ (most frequent type of distributive verb):

tava'c·up·ï dry (past passive participle)

tA'ta'ϕAcup·ï all dry

MU'qu'ntai' is straight

mumu'q·untai' several are straight

pA'qa'ŋU to kill one person

pA'pa'q·aŋU several kill one

sa·'ŋqai' (it) is unripe

sA'sa·'ŋqai' several things are unripe

tɔ'qwa''ai' patches one

tɔ'tɔ'q·wa·'ai' patches several

na'a'ip·ïγa' fire was burning

nan·a''aip·ïγa' there were fires burning

(d) *Type* cv·ᵍ

qa'ivaγantï having a mountain

qa·'q·aivaγantï having mountains, mountainous country

pa·' spring

pa·'p·a·γantï spring (distributively)-having, places with springs

(e) *Type* cv-^{g} . . .' . . . :

wïn·ai- to throw down — *wïwï'n'naip·ïγai(y)aγʌ* (they) threw him (vis.) down

pa(i)yi- to return — *pʌ'pa'(i)yi'p·ïγa'* all returned

(f) *Type* cv-^{n}:

puŋquγwai- to have a horse — *pumpu'q·uγwa'* (dissimilated from *pumpu'ŋqu-*) each has horses

(g) *Type* cv-^{n} . . .' . . .:

pïnik·ai- to look at — *pïmpï'n'ɪˣka'* several look at

tɔna'i' stabs — *tɔntɔ'n'Aˣqai'* several stab

(h) *Type* cv-^{n} . . .' . . .^{g} . . .:

pan·aγa- several go home — *pampa'n'Aˣqai'* (they) go home in parties; *pampa'n'na·q·Aqwa'-ai-* to go home, each group by itself

(4) ITERATIVE REDUPLICATION IN VERBS. Iterative verbs, i. e. verbs indicating the repetition of an action, are reduplicated in a manner very similar to distributive verbs, though the iterative is to be considered as a form distinct from the distributive. In some cases the iterative and the distributive are phonetically identical, in others there is some difference of form. On the whole, stem gemination and glottalization tend to be more frequent in iteratives than in distributives; contrast, e. g.: *qwïγwï'ï-* SEVERAL TAKE ONE OBJECT (< *qwïï-*) with *qwï'qwï''ï-* TO TAKE ONE OBJECT SEVERAL TIMES.

(a) *Type* v'v . . .(^{g}) . . . (. . .' . . . may appear instead of . . .^{g} . . .):

ivi- to drink — *i'i'p·i'* drinks repeatedly, sips

ampa'γai' talks — *a'a'mpʌˣqai'* talks repeatedly

uγwi'' smells — *u'u'q·wi'* smells several times, sniffs around

ʊ'cu'q·wɪ' whistles — *ʷ'u'c·ʊqwɪ'* whistles several times

ɔrɔ'ŋwi' roars — *ɔ'ɔ'rɔ'ŋwi'* roars several times

ʌ'ti'x·ɪ to nurse — *'a't·ïx·ɪ* to nurse several times

(b) *Type* cv-^{s}:

tavin'na·- to put out one's breast, to strut	*tara'vɪn'na·ai‘* keeps putting out (his) breast
paŋwai- to yell	*pava'ŋwai-* to yell several times
pɪ‘pi't·a'ni‘ vomits (momentaneous reduplication; see 5, c)	*pivi'^{x}tan'ni‘* vomits several times
tɔγɔ'q·wi‘ runs	*tɔrɔ'^{x}·ɔqwi‘* runs several times

(c) *Type* cv-^{g}:

tA‘pu'q·wi‘ jumps	*tA‘ta'p·Uqwi‘* keeps jumping, skips
qU‘qwi'‘ shoots	*qU‘qo'q·wɪ‘* shoots several times
tï‘qa'i‘ eats	*tï‘tï'q·ai‘* eats several times
wï‘ï'i‘ dances	*wïwï'’ïi‘* dances repeatedly
NU‘qwɪ'p·ïγa‘ ran	*non·u'q·WIpïγa‘* kept running, ran time after time
sɪva'i‘ whittles	*s·sɪ'vai‘* whittles many times
kwi'p·A to hit	*kWI‘kwi'p·A* to hit several times
yu'mu'q·wi‘ starts (on being startled)	*yuyu'm'MU^{x}qwi‘* starts several times

(d) *Type* cv-^{g} . . .^{g} . . .:

tïv^{w}ï'n·aγai‘ leads	*tï‘tï'p·ïnaq·ai‘* leads away several times
naγa'rïŋqï to dodge (durative); *naγa't·ïŋqï* (momentaneous)	*nana'q·Atïŋqï* to dodge one time after another

(e) *Type* cv-^{g} . . .’ . . .:

qa·'i‘ sings	*qA^{x}qa'’ai‘* sings repeatedly
maŋwa'vai‘ creeps	*mam'ma'ŋwavai‘* creeps in starts
naγa'm·i‘ is sick	*nan·a'xa'mɪ‘* is sick several times
tua'i‘ gives birth	*tU‘tu'’ai‘* gives birth several times
tcA‘qo'itcai‘ takes off clothes	*tcA‘tca'q̇·oitcai‘* takes clothes off several times
qwïï'i‘ takes one object	*qWï‘qwï'’ïi‘* takes one object several times

(f) *Type* cv- . . .’ . . .^{g} . . .(types d and e combined):

yaγa'i‘ cries
nïntcï'γai‘ (it) shakes

ya(i)'ya'q·ai‘ cries several times
nïn'ï'ntcïq(ɛ)i‘ (it) shakes several times

(g) *Type* cv-^{n} . . .' . . .:

pïn·i- to see, look
tɔn·a- to stab
tïni'a- to tell
pɔn·a·- to stoop and stick out one's buttocks

pïmpï'n'ni‘ looks repeatedly
tɔntɔ'n'nai‘ stabs several times
tïntï'n'iai‘ tells several times
pɔmpɔ'n'na.i‘ stoops several times sticking out (his) buttocks

(5) MOMENTANEOUS REDUPLICATION IN VERBS. A considerable number of verbs form their momentaneous (or inceptive) form (see § 30, 3–8) by reduplication. Momentaneous reduplication differs radically from distributive and iterative reduplication in that there is no accompanying stem gemination or glottalization. There is a certain amount of overlapping of forms (e. g. *tï‘tï'q·a-* TO EAT SEVERAL TIMES; TO START TO EAT), but, on the whole, reduplicated momentaneous forms are sharply distinguished from corresponding reduplicated distributives and iteratives, e. g. *qA‘qa'rï-* TO SETTLE DOWN (< *qarï-* TO SIT): *qA‘qa't·ï-* TO SIT SEVERAL TIMES; *qaγa·-* TO START OFF SINGING (< *-qa·-* TO SING): *qA‘qa''a·-* TO SING SEVERAL TIMES; *a'a'vi-* TO BEGIN LYING DOWN (< *avi-* TO LIE): *a'a'p·i-* TO LIE SEVERAL TIMES; *yaya'γa-* TO BURST OUT CRYING (< *yaγa-* TO CRY): *ya'ya'q·a-* TO CRY SEVERAL TIMES.

(a) *Type* v'v-^{s}:

avi- to lie down

a'a'ɸI to begin lying down

This type does not seem to be freely used. Thus, *ivi-* TO DRINK forms no momentaneous (or inceptive) **i'i'vi-*; *iviŋu-* is the appropriate form (§ 30, 5).

(b) *Type* cv-^{s}:

qa·- to sing

qaγa·'- to sing (momentaneously), to start in singing; *qaγa·'tca·ŋA* he (vis.) finished singing

kiɛŋqï- to laugh
paγ(a)i- to walk
pai- to call

kiχi'ɛŋqï- to start in laughing
pava'γ(a)i- to start to walk
pava'i- to call (momentaneously)

(c) *Type* cv-^{g}:

ẗiq·a- to eat	*ẗi'ẗi'q·a-* to eat up, to start to eat
pitcï'- to arrive	*pɪ'pi'tcï-, pi'tcï-* (§ 10, 3) to arrive (momentaneously)
nïntcïγa- to shake	*nïn·ï'ntcïγa-* to start in shaking
qarï- to sit	*qA'qa'rï-* to sit down, settle
yaγa- to cry	*yaya'γa-* to begin crying, burst into tears
yɔγɔ- to copulate with	*yɔyɔ'γɔ-* to copulate with (momentaneously)
yuγwi- several are seated	*yuyu'γwi-* several sit down
wïn·ï- to stand, be standing	*wïwï'n·ï-* to stand up

(d) *Type* cv-^{n}:

ẗin·ia- to tell	*ẗinẗi'n·ia-* to tell on; *ẗinẗi'n·iaŋqï-* to tell to (momentaneously)

(6) FINAL REDUPLICATION. This type of reduplication is very uncommon in Paiute. It is confined to a small number of verbs, in part onomatopoetic. Sometimes an *-i-* follows. Such are:

pA'-sɔ'rɔrɔi-tcï waterfall (participle of verb with incorporated *pa-* WATER

tümp^{w}i'-s·ivavai-tcï precipice (participle of verb with incorporated *tümp^{w}i-* ROCK)

cu'rur'u-, cu'r'uru- to make a noise as of an object whirling down

qï'rïrï- to sound like a hard object played over a toothed or notched surface

qwinu'n'nu- to turn around

ta-ya'nunu-ŋqi- to have one's feet dangling

§ 59. NUMERALS.

(1) NUMERAL STEMS PROPER. The numerals of Paiute are:

1.	*cv·-*	9.	*cu(w)a'rɔγɔmA'cüŋwi-*
2.	*wa·-*	10.	*tɔγɔ'm·A'c·üŋwi-*
3.	*pai-*	20.	*wa·'mA'cüŋwi-*
4.	*WA'tcü'ŋwi-*	30.	*pa'imA'cüŋwi-*
5.	*man·ɪ'γɪ-*	40.	*WA'tcü'ŋwiMA'cüŋwi-*
6.	*nava'i-*	50.	*manɪ'γɪMA'cüŋwi-*
7.	*nava'ɪk̟avai-*	60.	*nava'iMA'cüŋwi-*
8.	*wa'a'ŋWA'cüŋwi-*	100.	*cv·'yut·ɔγɔmA'cüŋwi-*

The stem *cv·-*, in its meaning of ONE, is generally provided with an enclitic *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k), e. g.:

cv·'yuc·U one (cardinal attributive); objective *cv·'q·uc·U*
cv·'t·ac·U once
cv·'yuŋuc·U to become one
cv·'it·uγwanumA, cv·'it·uγwanum^{w}ac·U for one night
cv·'yun·ɪ' one (in counting)

Without enclitic *-c·u-*, *cv·-* is often used to mean OTHER, THE OTHER, e. g.:

co·'YU other; *cv·'y aŋA* other he (vis.), another one; *cv·'(i)y aRï* other it, another (thing); *cv·'YUcinaŋwav aŋA* other-coyote he (vis.), the other coyote
co·'q·unA other one (apparently *co·-* + objective *-q·u-* + verbal noun suffix *-n·a-*); *co·'q·un aŋA* the other one
co·'q·U again, once more
co·'v^{w}antï the other; *co·'v^{w}antïmï* the others (anim.)

Only 1, 2, and 3 seem to be primary numeral stems. 4 is probably based on 2, *wa·-* being reduced to *wa-*. 5 and 10 evidently contain *ma-* HAND. 6 is compounded of reciprocal *na-* (§ 22, 1) and *pai-* THREE, hence means properly DUALITY OF THREES (cf. Nahuatl *nahui* FOUR < DUALITY OF TWOS; Hopi *na·leyi* FOUR < *leiyi* TWO, *navai* SIX < *pa·hio* THREE, *na·nal* EIGHT < *na·leyi* FOUR). 7 is clearly based on 6. 8 (*wa'a'ŋWAtcüŋWI*) is somewhat irregularly reduplicated from 4 (*WA'tcu'ŋWI*). 9 is compounded of *cu(w)a-^{s}* NEARLY (§ 20, 12) and 10. 10 is properly *MA'cü'ŋWI, tɔγɔ'-* (§ 20, 15) meaning JUST, QUITE. *-c·üŋwi-* (cf. perhaps *-t·cüŋwi-* of 4) is obscure, but is probably another form for ONE (< Shoshonean **sïwi* or **sïmi*; cf. Shikaviyam *cewi-* ONE, Mono *ciwi, cimu*); *mac·üŋwi-* may thus have meant ONE PAIR OF HANDS. 20, 30, and so on up to 100, are respectively compounds of 2, 3, and so on, and ten; *-MA'cü'ŋwi-* always appears as such, instead of alternating, as would be expected, with *-ma'c·üŋwi-*. 100, rather curiously, consists of ANOTHER (*cv·yu-*) and JUST-TEN.

Cardinal and adverbial suffixes to numeral stems are discussed in § 36.

(2) EMPLOYMENT OF NUMERALS. Numerals enter into syntactic relations in one of three ways:

(a) As independent nominal forms, attributively or denominatively. Subjective forms end in *-yu-* (see § 36, 1), objectives in *-q·u-*. Examples of numerals in *-q·u-* are:

cv·'q·uc· U'qwɪ'yutsɪχaivätcï one (obj.) arrow-little-have-usitative-participle, wont to have one arrow
wa·'q·utcanɪ qava·'x·A two-obj.-preterit-I horse-get, I received two horses
paa'ik·ƶU three (obj.)
man·ɪ'χɪk·U patcü'ŋwïχaɪpïγa' five (obj.) daughters-have-past, had five daughters

(b) As first elements of noun compounds; they geminate following stopped and affricative consonants. Examples of compounded numerals are:

wa·'q·ïmantsɪŋWï two strangers
waa'n·ɪ(y)a·vɪŋw amï the two chiefs
wa·'m·a·ª'caγʷɔitsɪŋWï two old women

Before vowels compounded *wa·-* appears as *wa·n'-* (perhaps < *wa·-* + reciprocal *na-*), e. g.:

wa·'n'aip·atsɪŋWï two boys (*a'ip·ats·* boy)
wa·'n'aiɸApïtsɪŋWï two young men (*a'iɸApïts·* young man)

Before nouns indicating time (such as DAY, NIGHT, MONTH, WINTER), 1 appears as *cv·i-*; 2 as *wai-*; 3 as *pai(y)ɛ-*; 4 as *WA'tcü'ŋwiyu-* (?); 5 as *man·ɪγɪyu-*; 6 as *navai-*. These forms do not suffer vocalic unvoicing of their third mora. Examples are:

cv·'it·avamA one-day-on, for one day (= *cv·'yuc·U tava'mA*)
cv·'it·ɔmumA one-winter-on, for one year
wa.i't·avamanɪ' two-day-on-like, for two days in number
pa'i(y)ɛt·uγwan·umA three-night-on, for three nights
man·ɪ'χɪyut·avam·an·ɪ' for five days in number
nava'.it·avamanɪ' for six days in number

(c) As verbs, based on forms in *-yu-*, with or without verbalizing *-ŋqai-* (§ 26, 1, a), e. g.:

cv·'yuŋuc·U to become one; *cv·'YUqwaŋuc·U* several become one
nana'c·v·yuŋqwaiyuc·U reciprocal (distributively)-one-be-subordinating-just, as (they) are one among (them)selves, one by one

waa'(i)yuŋqïŋ'ɥm^{w}ïnɪ two-for-become-dual-me, they 2 (have) become two for me

(3) QUASI-NUMERALS. A number of elements that are not true numerals are related in meaning and form. These are:

(a) *man·ɔ-*, *man·u-* ALL. As subjective form is used *man·ɔ'n·ia-*, *man·u'n·ia-* (for enclitic *-n·ia-* in numeral forms see § 36, 1); as objective, *man·ɔq·u-*. Examples are:

man·ɔ'n·ɪ(y)a(i)ya·q·axa' aru'q·ʷᴀ qv·'n'ɪ'ka' all-plural- (§ 52)-imperative (§ 52)-then! it-under lie; all (of you) lie under it, then!
man·ɔ'q·oɑq·ᴀ pᴜ'tcu'tcuγwaʀï all (obj.)-it (vis.) knowing, knowing it all
pa·'m·anun·ɪ' quite all, every one

For *man·ɔ'q·ᴜpa(n)tcï-* see § 37, 2.

(b) *nan·in'na-* DIFFERENT, BOTH (inanimate), e. g.:

nan·i'n'naŋwɪtux·ʷᴀ to, in (2) different directions

In compounds this appears as *nan·in'naq·u-* (apparently with numeral objective *-q·u-*), also, it would seem, before certain postpositions, e. g. *-va·-* AT. Examples are:

nanɪ''naq·(w)ɔyaγa·'ma·q·ᴀ both (obj.)-end-on-its (vis.), at both its ends
nan·i'n'naq·ova·ŋᴀ both (obj.)-at-his (vis.), on both sides of him

This quasi-numeral is based on *nan·i-* SEPARATELY (as adverbial prefix, § 20, 5; as independent adverb *nan·i'c·u-*, § 60, 2, d).

(c) *naŋwa'ai-* BOTH (animate); consists properly of reflexive-reciprocal stem *na-* (§ 46) and postposition *-ŋwa'ai-* TOGETHER WITH (§ 50, 4, 11): WITH EACH OTHER. *naŋwa''q·u-* functions as independent objective and as first element of compounds. Examples are:

naŋwa''ᵃ, *naŋwa''aic·ᴜ* both (people)
naŋwa''q·uaŋa'm pᴀ^{x}qa'ŋᴜpïγai(y)aŋa'mï both (obj.)- he (vis.; = they)-them (vis.) kill (sing.-dual)-past-he (vis.; = they)-them (vis.), they 2 killed both of them
naŋwa''q·up·u'ɪnɪ both (obj.)-eye-my, both my eyes; *naŋwa''q·up·u'im·anɪ* with both my eyes

(d) *qïma-ˢ* OTHER. This stem may be either compounded (e. g. *qïma'γanɪnɪ* MY OTHER HOUSE) or used independently. In the latter

case it has pronominal forms for the subjective (see § 39, 2); a numeral form in *-q·u-* (*c·u-*) for the object, e. g.:

q̈ima'q·ucunɪ qaχa·'ᵃva·ᵃc·u other (obj.)-just-I sing (momentaneously)-will-again, I will sing also another one

§ 60. Adverbs.

There are two main classes of independent adverbs in Paiute, those whose position is entirely free (these generally precede verbs or come first in their clause), and those which lean on (though not enclitically attached to) a preceding word. The former type is more numerous.

(1) Derivation of adverbs. A number of adverbs are really demonstratives, e. g. *ai-* THEN; *ma·'* THUS. Many others are special adverbial stems (e. g. *qa* NOT), provided, in some cases, with nominal suffixes (e. g. *aï-vʷi-* NOW, *ïvʷi-tsɪ-* VERY). Certain enclitic suffixes, particularly *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k) and *-n·ia-* (§ 19, 2, d), are appended to some adverbial stems, e. g. *nava-c·u-* IN VAIN; *na'a·-c·u-* SEPARATELY; *ïvʷi-c·ampa-* SURE ENOUGH; *ti'ŋwï-n·ia-* HURRIEDLY; *miɔ-n·ia-* FAR AWAY. Some adverbs contain postpositional suffixes, e. g. *ï-na'ŋqwa-* UP HITHER (cf. § 50, 4, 18); *tcaγɪ'-p·a-* NEAR (cf. § 50, 4, 37). For local adverbs in *-ïγa-n·ia-*, *-tɔγɔ-n·ia-* see 2, b below.

(2) Free adverbs. The adverbs of free position may be classified into temporal adverbs, local adverbs, adverbs of degree, and modal adverbs. They are employed either as true adverbs (e. g. *qï'aŋwɪ ya''ᵃ* YESTERDAY DIE(D)), often serving as bases for postpositional suffixes (e. g. *qwa'ut·uγwa-* OFF-TO, THE OTHER WAY < *qwau-* OFF); or, in part, as verbs (this is particularly true of local adverbs, e. g. *ïvʷa'im·ɪk·upïγa'* DOWN-MOVING-INCEPTIVE-PAST, COMMENCED TO GO DOWN).

(a) *Temporal adverbs:*

ai- THEN, NOW (of rather indefinite temporal significance; comes first in clause as peg for enclitics; of demonstrative origin, see § 43, 5 and § 44, 2, c). It is generally followed by enclitic *-tca-* (§ 19, 1, a) even when there is no reference to past time. Examples are:

a'itcaq·wA cv·'yuc·u piya''ŋw uru'a'nɑnɪ then-preterit-it (inv.) one be-left being (inv.)-my, then I have one left over

'a'iamï ti'ŋwïnɪ(y)a'amï tï'qa'i' then-they (vis.) quickly-dual eat-present, see how fast they 2 eat

a'ïv^{w}i- NOW (probably *aï-^{s}* NEW and nominal suffix *-vi-*, § 24, 1, b)
'i·-c·u- LONG AGO (perhaps related to *i·-^{g}* OLD)
i·'t·u-c·u- FORMERLY, USED TO (perhaps assimilated from *i·'t·ï-c·u-* < *i·-^{g}* OLD and participial *-t·ï-*)
i·'tcuq·u- (EARLY) IN THE MORNING, Ute *wɪ·'tcuq·u-* (< *i·-*, perhaps cf. two preceding adverbs and postpostional *-tcuq·u-* relating to time, cf. *ɓatcuq·u-*, § 50, 4, 37)

ivä'tcïa- EARLY; also locally: FAR AWAY, WAY OFF (*-vätcïa-* may be objective participle of postposition *-va-* AT, § 50, 4, 37)
ït·ï'-c·ampa- (*ï'tï'c·ampA*, often heard *tï'c·ampA*) ALWAYS (for enclitic *-c·ampa-* see § 19, 2, j)
narï'v^{w}ia- ALWAYS, CUSTOMARILY (perhaps contains reflexive *na-*)
oi't·a-vï- ANY LONGER (*qatcun· oi't·aɸï* NO LONGER I —)
pina'ŋqwa- AFTER A WHILE, SOON (*pi-* REAR, cf. § 21, 3, and postpositional *-naŋqwa-*, § 50, 4, 18)
qï'aŋwi- YESTERDAY
u'v^{w}aiyauq·u- THEN, THEREUPON (see § 50, 4, 41; frequently used as sentence-connector in narrative)
wï·'t·u-c·u- LONG AGO (cf. *i·'t·u-c·u-* above)

(b) *Local adverbs:*

ivï- WAY, FAR (e. g. *i'ɸï tïv^{w}a'* WAY DOWN WEST; perhaps misheard for *i'ɸA*, cf. *iva'tcïa-* under a)
mi(y)ɔ-, *miɔ-n·ia-* FAR OFF, AT A DISTANCE; *mi(y)ɔ''itsɪva-* AT A LITTLE DISTANCE (diminutive *-tsɪ-*, § 35, 1; postpositional *-va-*, § 50, 4, 37); *miɔ'-t·ïγan·ia-* AT A GOOD DISTANCE
ɔ'ɔ'i'mi- ON ONE'S BELLY
ɔ'ɔ'i'min· avi' I lie on my belly
pan·a'ŋqwa- COMING DOWN, NORTH (probably WATERWARDS; *pa-* WATER, reduced from *pa·-*; postpositional *-naŋqwa-*, § 50, 4, 18). May be verbalized
pimi't·uγwa- BACKWARD (< *pi-* REAR, cf. § 21, 3, and postpositional *-mit·uγwa-*, § 50, 4, 13)
pit·cu'a'mi- DOWNWARD
qwaia- BEYOND, OPPOSITE (generally followed by postpositional *-ŋqwa-*, § 50, 4, 16)
qwaŋwa- (perhaps < *qwau-* off + *-a-* > **qwawa-*): *qwaŋwa'ntcuγwa-* A LITTLE FURTHER BEYOND (postpositional *-ntcuγwa-*, § 50, 4, 30)
qwau-^{g} OFF, AWAY; *qwa'ut·uγwa-* THE OTHER WAY (postpositional *-t·uγwa-*, § 50, 4, 30). May be verbalized

tï·-^{n}, *tï(·)i-^{n}* UP; objective *tï·ŋqu-n·ia-* FURTHER UP; *tï·'ntuγwa-* UPWARD, NORTHWARD (postpositional *-ntuγwa-*, § 50, 4, 30); *tïna'ŋqwa-* COMING UP (*tï-* reduced from *tï·-*; postpositional *-naŋqwa-*, § 50, 4, 18). May be verbalized; see also *tuγu-^{n}*

-tïγa-n·ia- (*-tɔγɔ-n·ia-*) local adverbializing element appended to certain adverbs or postpositional phrases (perhaps related to verb *tïγai-* TO BECOME; enclitic *-n·ia-*, § 19, 2, d), e. g.:

mava'ɪ'tïγan·ɪ', *mava'ɪ'tɔγɔn·ɪ'* at a certain distance, way off

mɪɔ't·ïγan·ɪ' at a good distance

u'u'raintïʸan·ɪ' close towards it

tïv^{w}ai-^{g} DOWN, WEST; *tantï'v^{w}ai-* FAR WEST. May be verbalized

tɔvi''i-tsɪ- FOR A SHORT DISTANCE (*-tsɪ-* probably diminutive, § 35, 1)

tuγu-^{n} UP (evidently related to *tï·-^{n}*, see above; cf. also *tuγu-mpa-* SKY): *tuγu'ntuγwa-* UPWARD (postpositional *-ntuγwa-*, § 50, 4, 30)

tcaγi'p·a- NEAR (< *tcaγi-^{g}*, not occurring independently, and postpositional *-p·a-* AT, § 50, 4, 37)

waq·(a)i'-^{n} HITHER. May be verbalized

(c) *Adverbs of degree:*

a'ïv^{w}i-c·u- ENOUGH (probably *a'ïv^{w}i-* NOW, see a above, and enclitic *-c·u-*, § 19, 2, k)

tïv^{w}i'-tsɪ- VERY (*-tsɪ-* probably nominal suffix, § 24, 1, f); *tïv^{w}i'tsɪ-n·ia-* GREATLY; *tïv^{w}i'ts·sampa-* REALLY, OF COURSE (enclitic *-c·ampa-*, § 19, 2, j)

(d) *Modal adverbs:*

aŋa-c·u- ONLY, JUST (?) adverbially used independent personal pronoun HE, § 39):

imi' *'aiḵ·* *aŋac·* *ɔn·ɔ'c·uap·itcɪχa'* thou say he early-breathe-arrive-subordinating (nearly-arrive = wake up); you say, but just waking up

'arï'k·ï- ALMOST, NEARLY

imp^{w}a'i- hortatory:

imp^{w}a'iaŋ aiva' let-he (vis.) say-will, let him say

iya't·ïa- IN VAIN, TO NO PURPOSE (probably objective participial form in *-t·ïa-*)

ït·ï'a·n·ia- TOO BAD, UNFORTUNATELY:

ï'tï'a·n·ɪ aik·^{x}A too bad you say, I'm sorry you say

ïv^{w}ï- hortatory, *ïv^{w}i-ya-* hortatory with dual or plural subject; *ïv^{w}ï'-campa-n·ia-* SOMEHOW, ANY OLD WAY; *ïv^{w}i'-n·ia-* HURRY AND —! (cf. *tï'ŋwi-n·ia-* below). Examples are:

ïv^{w}ï'' uŋwɑ'vatcux·wʌqwa'aic· itcï'‘ yaŋwɪ'va‘ niŋwï'mpɪ‘ hortatory-thou him (inv.)-to-go-again this (inan. obj.) carry-shall liver (obj.); go ahead! go again and bring her this liver

ïv^{w}ï'nɪ nï'm^{w} ivi'χw'aiŋumpa'amï hortatory-I we (exclus.) drink-go-momentaneous-future-dual, let us two go in order to drink

ïv^{w}i'n·i(y)a'^{a} tïnɪ'ʌ hortatory-like-thou tell! hurry up and tell!

ma·‘ THUS, IN THAT WAY (as described) (lengthened form of demonstrative stem *ma-*, § 43):

ma·'ʌ^{x} qa·'p·ïγa‘ thus (he) sang

ma·n·i-c·ampa- BARELY (probably lengthened *man·i-* TO DO THUS and enclitic *-c·ampa-*, § 19, 2, j); see § 53, 1, a

maŋaia-c·u- ON THE OTHER HAND (adverbially used independent objective personal pronoun HIM, § 39):

maŋa'iac· imi'χain·ɪ‘ on the other hand you too

nava-c·u- MERELY, FOR FUN, WITHOUT PURPOSE, IN VAIN

na'a·'-c·u- DIFFERENTLY, SEPARATELY

nan·i'-c·u- SEPARATELY (cf. § 20, 5; § 59, 3, b)

qa, qatcu- NOT; see § 57

sv·'v^{w}a- PROVIDED THAT, IF (perhaps *cv·-* ONE and postpositional *-va-* AT, § 50, 4, 37):

sv·'v^{w}'aŋw ampa'χaχu'ŋwʌ if he (inv.) talks

cu(w)a'-r'ua- PERHAPS (probably *cua-* NEARLY, § 20, 12, and interrogative enclitic *-r'ua-*, § 19, 2, f)

tï'ŋwi-n·ia- QUICKLY, IN A HURRY (cf. adverbial prefix *tï'ŋwï- . . .n·ia-*):

tïŋwi'nia'^{a} quickly-thou! hurry!

tï'ŋwɪni(y)a·mï tï‘qa'mɪ‘ quickly-they (vis.) eat-usitative, they 2 always eat in a hurry

tïv^{w}i'-c·u-, tïv^{w}i'-c·ampa- SURE ENOUGH (for *tïv^{w}i-* cf. *tiv^{w}i'-tsɪ* VERY, d above)

umpa'i(a)-, umpa'ia-c·ampa- I DON'T CARE IF, NO MATTER:

umpa'in·ɪ'^{i} no matter how thou (wilt test) me

^{u}mpa'i(y)ɑŋwïnɪ I don't care how ye (will do to) me

^{u}mpa'iʌcampa·ŋʌ ya'a'iva‘ however-only he (vis.) die-will, I don't care if he dies

^{u}'u'mp^{w}ic·a-, ump^{w}i'c·a-c·ampa- ONLY FOR FUN

(3) ADVERBS BOUND IN POSITION. These are almost all of demonstrative origin. They are much more difficult to define than the preceding set of adverbs.

a·‘, 'a·‘ (lengthened form of demonstrative stem *a-*, § 43) follows quoted word, like Sanskrit *iti*; HO! Examples are:

wïγïmp a· n·ia·'χaiva·ntï vulva thus name-have-future-participle, (it) will be called "vulva"

qam·ï'v^{w}'uitsɪ a·ʻ nɪa·'^{a}γantïʻ rabbit-eye-noun suffix (obj.) thus name-having (obj.), being called (obj.) "rabbit-eyed"

paa'n· a·ʻ my aunt, ho!

ïγïR INDEED, TRULY. This common adverb tends to amalgamate loosely with preceding personal pronouns, independent or enclitic. Thus, *nï' ïγïR* is generally heard as *nï'ïγïR*; *imi- ïγïR* appears as, not *i'm ïγïR*, but *imi'ɪχïR* (in general, *-i- ïγïR* becomes *ɪχïR*); *-aŋ ïγïR* often coalesces to *-aŋ gïR* (stopped *g* is sometimes heard for γ in others of these cases also). Present forms tend to take on preterital significance with *ïγïR*. Examples are:

nï' ïγïR nǫnɔ'c·ɪʻ I indeed dream-present, I did indeed dream

imi' ɪχ̣ïr uŋwaro''^{a} thou indeed anim. sing.-is, you indeed have always been

mam·a''^{a}caγwɔits ɪχ̣ïr uŋW^{A} old-woman indeed she (inv.), the old woman indeed

a'ia·ŋ gïr ʻa'ik·^{z}^{A} that (inan.)-obj.-he (vis.) indeed say, that indeed he says

a'ian ɪgïr ʻa'ik·^{z}^{A} that indeed I (always) say

imi'ntcu'a·q· ïγïr ivi'ŋ^{U} thou-interrogative -it (vis.) indeed drink-momentaneous, you *did* drink it

iŋqï'ʻ INDEED (Ute form of *ïγïR*, sometimes used also in Paiute)

ʻɔa'iʻ, *ʻɔq'iʻ* (objective inanimate invisible demonstrative in origin; see § 42, 9 and § 43, 5) frequently used adverb (generally post-verbal) of quite elusive significance. It seems to have emphasizing force. It is particularly common after *ïγïR* (see above); with preterital *-tca-* and *-γwa-* (§ 19, 1); after gerund *-t·sɪ-* (§ 55, 1, a); in irrealis forms (§ 33, 1), particularly such as indicate unfulfilled desire (WOULD THAT . . . !); after futures in *-pa·-* (§ 32, 4); after *-mï·-* ALREADY (§ 30, 13); and after substantive verbal *-aq·a-* IT IS (§ 56, 3). In many cases it seems to turn absolute or present verb forms to past tense forms (probably only by implication). Examples are:

tU^{x}qwɪ'y'aiŋqïɪyïaŋ'am ʻɔqiʻ shame-die-to-present-he (vis.)-thee, he *is* ashamed of you

pA^{x}qa'ŋUtï·tcaro'a·ŋ ʻɔqiʻ kill-passive-preterit-interrogative-he (vis.), did he get killed?

A'pï'iyïaŋ ïγïr ʻɔaiʻ sleep-present-he (vis.) indeed, he was indeed sleeping

ï'ŋ ïγïr ʻɔaiʻ yes, (he) was

pAˣqa'ŋUtsɪ'ɪŋ'w ᵊqi' having killed him (inv.)
uŋwa'ŋuq·v·'q·waχa' *'ɔqi'* would that it (inv.) might rain!
ᵘmpa'iAcampanɪ' *'ɔai'* *pAˣqq'umpa·nI* no matter-only-me-thou kill-shall-me, I don't care if you kill me
tï'qa'm·ï·yïaŋ *'ɔai'* he (vis.) is eating already
imi'ä·q· *'ɔai'* it is thou
nï'ni *'ɔai'* *pAˣqa'ŋUtuanI* me kill-impersonal-me, somebody killed me
imi'ŋ'waiaŋ ïŋqï *'ɔqi'* *yaa'iŋqw'ɔi'* thou-with-he (vis.) indeed hunt-go-present, with you indeed he went hunting

Uˣqwa'i' (objective inanimate invisible third personal pronoun in origin; see § 39 and § 42, 9) sometimes occurs instead of *'ɔai'*. It is frequently used in songs as practically meaningless padder: *uq·waya*. Examples are:
nï'a·q· *Uˣqwa'i'* it is I
i'm Uˣqwai iŋwɪ't·ux·WA thou indeed (shouldst turn) in the other direction

o'ᵘ, *'o'ᵘ* SO, THEN, REALLY (probably adverbialized use of invisible demonstrative *ᵘ'u'-*, § 43), e. g.:
'aŋa'v o'ᵘ he-at so, so at his place
pina'ŋq 'o'ᵘ (< *pina'ŋqWA 'o'ᵘ*) soon so
maa'in·ɪŋun·I 'c o'ᵘ touch-momentaneous-me-again so, touch me then again
mava''c o'ᵘ so at that same place

Note that *-c·u-* and *o'ᵘ* amalgamate to *-c·o'ᵘ* and permit of vocalic unvoicing before *-c·-*.

uru'a-c·u- OTHERWISE (objective inanimate invisible demonstrative and third personal pronoun; see § 39), e. g.:
ini't·uγwa' *ivi'ŋumpaAˣqan uru'ac·U* this-away-thou drink-momentaneous-will-it (vis.)-I otherwise; go away, or I will drink it

uc·u- (probably invisible demonstrative stem *u-* + enclitic *-c·u-*) emphasizing particle, e. g.:
'i'ŋanɪ(y)a·q· *u'c·U* this (anim.)-like-it (vis.) truly, maybe it is this one here

uφʷA THEN, NOW (perhaps < invisible demonstrative stem *u-* + postpositional *-va-*, § 50, 4, 37) weakly emphatic particle, e. g.:
ïvʷï'' *oφʷA* go ahead, thou, then!

uvʷai' THEN, AND, AS TO (apparently < *uvʷayu-*, cf. *uvʷa-* above) common emphasizing and connective particle; frequent after *-c·ampa-* ONLY, EXCEPT (§ 19, 2, j). Examples are:

imi' uv^{w}ai‘ ïŋa''^{a} as to thee, well?
a'ïtcaram u'v^{w}ai‘ where-preterit-we 2 (inclus.) now? where, now, are we?
axa'n·ıva·ŋan u'v^{w}ai‘ what, then, shall I do with him (vis.)?
'i'tc uv^{w}aiYU and this (inan.) (is how it got to be)
maŋa'c·amp uv^{w}ai‘ except that one (anim.)

§ 61. Interjections.

Interjections are of two types: simple vocables expressing emotion or desire and without definite grammatical form; and words of definite grammatical form, generally adverbs or terms of demonstrative origin, that are secondarily employed as interjections.

(1) Simple interjections:

a·‘ HO! (e. g. *paa'n· a·‘* MY AUNT, HO!; cf. § 60, 3)
'ą, 'ą, 'ą‘ surprise, disgust
'aa'ik·WI, a'a'ik·WI, 'ɛ'ik·WI OH!
aa'ik·ᵡ OH!
a·wawa'' meaningless cry in myth
'α‘, 'ı‘, e·'i cry on guessing in hand-game
i·'ha + great joy
ï·‘ YES!
ï'ï'ŋA, 'ï'ŋA YES! *ïŋa''^{a}* WELL?
ïra·', ïra·'ï‘ fear
ïrï'‘ prohibitive: DON'T!
'ŋ' (nasalized breath + voiced guttural nasal) disappointment, vexation
c + DON'T! SHUT UP! used also in driving away dogs
ẏ·'ma.i‘ YES! ALL RIGHT!
ųm^{w}u'ya· (*u'* and *ya·* are equally high-pitched) great fear
o·'v^{w}a‘, o·'v^{w}a'^{a} YES! (*qa·'tcU* NO! is merely lengthened form of negative adverb *qa'tcu* NOT)
wa·'χɔ·^{ɔ} wa·'χɔ·^{ɔ} imitates frog's croaking
yɔ'ɔ·'v^{w}ın·ı‘, yuʊ·'v^{w}ın·ı‘ HAIL! HURRAH!

(2) Secondary interjections:

a'ïv^{w}ic·U ENOUGH! (cf. § 60, 2, c)
ïv^{w}ï- ALAS! (cf. § 60, 2, d), e. g.:
ïv^{w}ï t·ïγï'v^{w}ïnI alas, my friend!

ïv^{w}ï' '(U^{x})qwa O poor—! (followed by objective, e. g. *ïv^{w}ï' 'q·wa nï'nɪA* O poor me! *ïv^{w}ï' 'U^{x}qwa n·ɣm^{w}ɬ'ʻ* O poor us (exclus.)!; *'U^{x}qwa, 'q·wa* abbreviated forms of *U^{x}qwa'iʻ*)

ïv^{w}i'yaγa'p·I alas-cry-past passive partic., too bad!

ma'ik·I, maik· ɥwa'c·U greeting: HELLO! (*mai-* probably demonstrative, § 43, 5; *ɥwa'c·U* evidently third singular animate invisible pronoun, § 39)

tïv^{w}ɪ'ts·sampA SURELY! OF COURSE! (cf. § 60, 2, c)

^{u}m^{w}a'c·ampa'a·' (rhetorically lengthened form of *^{u}m^{w}a'c·ampA* THAT (vis.)- ONLY) ENOUGH! BE QUIET!

ɔ·'nɪcampA (rhetorically lengthened form of *'u'nɪcampA* THAT (INV.)-DO-ONLY) ENOUGH! BE QUIET!

ya·'nU (< *iya'nU*, § 50, 4,1) HERE I AM! PRESENT!

§ 62. IDIOMATIC USAGES.

A few remarks on verbs of doing and saying are all we need offer here. As numerous examples scattered through this paper have already shown, verbs of doing and saying are frequently used in Paiute in a wider sense than is customary in English. Verbs of doing, i. e. verbs in *-n·i-* (§ 26, 2, b; § 43, 3; § 44, 2, a), often refer, in a loose manner, to any activity or state but those of speech, sound, and mental operation. A correspondingly loose reference to activities and states of the latter sort is made by verbs of saying (*ai-* and *mai-*, § 43, 6). Thus, *un·i-* TO DO and *ai-* TO SAY are equivalently used in expressions in *-n·a-c·u-(v^{w}ï-)* (ONE'S OWN) —ING AGAIN implying continuous and exclusive activity, e. g.:

tï'qa'n·Acuv ɥni'k·ɀA he keeps on eating (lit., does his own eating again)

A'pï'inac·u(a)n ɥni'k·ɀA I do nothing but sleep

qa·'nA'cuv^{w} a'ip·ïγa' he kept on singing, did nothing but sing (lit., said his own singing again)

(1) VERBS OF DOING. Further examples of the generalized use of demonstrative verbs of doing are:

qa'iva·vɪtcit·ɥni anɪ'ɬ·aip·ïγa' mountain-lie-diminutive-participle-like do-resultative-past, like a little plateau (lit., mountain-lying) (it) was

an·i'vuruyï (song form) do-move about present, goes thus from place to place

nï'c·amp an·i'k·ɀA I-only do, it is only I

man·ɪ'mɪkup·ïγa' thus (as described)-do-moving-inceptive-past, began to do that sort of movement, began to copulate (euphemistic reference clear from context)

ᵘmʷα'n·ɪk̨aim·ɪaχwar'uαn·o' thus-do-resultative-usitative-modal (§ 19, 2, c)-interrogative-indefinite, is one wont to be doing thus? that is not how one should be

imp̣ ɥnɪ'k·ᶻᴀ nu'yu'xaxa' what does (inv.) while moving? what is it that moves?

nï'axain· ɥnɪ'va·n·ɪ' I too shall do so, I'll go too (meaning determined by context)

ɥnɪ'avɪχa' while lying and doing so, while lying as described

nï' imï'ᴀ qanɪ'va ɥnï'n'nɪ' I thee (= thy) house-at do-continuative-present, I stay at your house

ɥnɪ'm'miaχaic·ᴜ do-move-subordinating -just, while on (his) way

Corresponding generalized verbs of doing, happening, being, when of interrogative application, are expressed by *aγan·i-* TO DO WHAT? TO ACT HOW? TO HAVE WHAT HAPPEN TO ONE? (see § 44, 2, a). English HOW and WHY are regularly to be expressed in Paiute via an interrogative verb of doing. WHY DID YOU EAT IT?, e. g., has to be rephrased to ACTING HOW, DID YOU EAT IT?

(2) VERBS OF SAYING. The corresponding generalized usage of verbs of saying finds less ready analogy in English. First of all, *ai-*, particularly in its usitative form, frequently means TO MEAN, TO REFER TO rather than literally TO SAY, e. g.:

a'intcu'a·ŋ 'a'imɪ' that-interrogative-he (vis.) say-usitative, is that what he is wont to say? he does not mean that

i'i'ŋai a'imɪᶻk̨a' this (anim.)-obj. say-usitative-perfective, has been always referring to this one

For *ai- . . .n·ia-* TO THINK, see § 19, 2, d.

Examples of *ai-* as generalized verb of sound and mental operation, the precise nature of the reference being clear from the context, are:

nï ïγïr 'a'im·ɥ' I indeed am wont to say = always have that dream

aγa'n·ɪŋutsɪ'ŋw a'ik·ᶻᴀ what-do-momentaneous-gerund-he (inv.) says, what happened to him that he says so? = what has happened to him to make him cry?

ava·'nt o·'p̣·ac·ɥn·ɪ a'iva·ntï it-at-being that (inv.)-in manner-same-like say-future-participle, (what is) there will be saying in just

the same manner = (everything that is) there (at the house) will be making the same sounds as ordinarily (so that people will not know it has been abandoned)

A number of verbs of sound or mental operation consist of *ai-* TO SAY preceded by some more specific word, e. g. *ampa'(i)yan·ia-ai-* NOISE-LIKE SAY, THERE IS NOISE GOING ON; *'an·ia-c·u- ai-* WHAT (OBJ.)- AGAIN SAY? TO TEASE. Examples are:

ampa'(i)yan·ɪ a'ik·ᵡA noise is going on

'ava'ŋwɪtï ampa'(i)yan·ɪ a'iʏʊcampA it-in-being (obj.) noise-like say-while-only, even if inside it there is noise going on

'an·ɪ'Acɥŋwïn a'iɣ·amɪ' what (obj.)-again-ye-me say-plural-usitative? ye always tease me

TEXT.

COYOTE SETS THE PARTURITION CUSTOMS.

cina'ŋwavɪy'aγw[1]	*aŋA*[2]	*m·wα'va'*[3]	*·qanɪ'χa'*[4]	*piŋwq·'ŋ*[5]
Coyote-quotative-preterit	he (vis.)	there	dwell,	his (vis.) wife

aŋ[6]	*aŋa'ruχw*[7]	*a'ip·ïγa'*,[8]	*cïï'xaŋqïxw'ain*[9]	*'a'ic·ɪtcuvwa·t·ɻn*[10]	
she (vis.)	to him	said,	"Go to get squaw-bush twigs for me	being about to make gathering-basket I	

aiɻ·[11]	*ɻmα'ntï'*.[12]	*ɣ·'mai*,[13]	*a'ip·ïγa'*	*cina'ŋwaφɪ*.[14]	*ɻnɪ'ŋuts*[15]
say	being therefrom (obj.)."	"Yes,"	said	Coyote.	Then

'o'xɻa·ŋqw'aip·ïγa'[16]	*cïï'vwïmpïaiyauv*[17]	*'u'ra'*.[18]	*ɪïvwɪ'tc'*[19]
went off in yonder direction	his own squaw-bush	towards it (inv.).	Very

miɔ'n·ɪ[20]	*ɻni'n'nip·ïγa'*[21]	*naŋqa'p·ïγa'*[22]	*qa·'p·i'*.[23]	*'a'ik·w*,[24]
far distant	was doing along	heard	singing (obj.).	"Oh!"

a'ip·ïγa'	*cina'ŋwaφɪ*,	*pua'ru'aiyuruɔn·ɪχain·ɪ'*[25]	*cu'wαru'anɪ*[26]
said	Coyote,	"it seems I am getting supernatural power,	almost-inter. -I

nɔ·n·ɔ'c·i'[27]	*narï'vwi*[28]	*puα'xant*[29]	*ɻŋwaru'*[30]	*nį̈''i̯*.[31]
dream,	already	medicine-man	am	I."

ï'vwaiyauq·u[32]	*naŋqa'ɬsaŋwį̈nɪp·ïγa'*[33]	*qatcu''uq·wA*[34]	*naŋqa'p·ïγa'*.
Then	stood and listened,	not it (inv.)	heard.

ï'vwaiyauq·'	*paγa'inyzqwɪ'p·ïγa*[35]	*ɻnɪ'ŋut*·[36]	*naŋqa'p·ïγai'cuq·w*[37]	
Then	started off,	Then	again heard it (inv.),	

tɪra'c·kwɔp·ïγaic·u.[38]	*ɻnɪ'ŋut*·	*naŋqa'ɬsaŋɻnɪp·ïγaic·u'q·w*[39]	
again stopped.	Then	again stood and listened to it (inv.),	

'a't·ɪnaŋqzpïγai'k·[40]	*ɔ'vwaiyauq·'*[32]	*qa·'q·'pi'*.[41]	*nį̈mwɪ''*[42]
heard it well	then	singing of many (obj.).	"We (excl.)

anɪ'k·a·[43] *kwi·'mv·ᵘrɑntɪk·amɪ'aγa'*,[44] *a'ik·ᵡʌpïγa'*[45]
are doing journeying in order to eat people," said (pl.)

qa·'m'mɪaγa[46] *tuγumpapaiya·'ᵃruq·wʌ*[47] *nɔntsɪ'ḵ·amɪaγa'*[50] *ma·m·u'c·*[51]
singing along beneath sky-vault flying along those (vis.)

ɔva'n·aŋqaŋw[52] *am'*.[53] *waa'n·ɪya·vɪŋw*[54] *am'* *nanɪ''naq·wɔyaγa·maxa̤am*[55]
geese they (vis.). Two chiefs they (vis.) at both ends of it (vis.) they (vis.)

wï̤nɪ'm·ɪap·ïγa'.[56] *cina'ŋwav*[57] *aŋ'* *pï̤nɪ'ḵ·aip·ïγa'aim'*.[58]
stood while journeying. Coyote he (vis.) saw them (inv.).

ɔ'vʷaiyauq·w[59] *a'ip·ïγa'*, *nï̤''ɨ* *ma·n·ɔ'a̤·woq·wʌ*[60] *qa·nɪ't·ɪrïai'*[64]
Then said, "I all (obj.) them (inv.) camp-places (obj.)

pa·'p·a·γantï'[62] *qa·'q·aiva·ntsɪχʌntï'*[63] *mï̤mʷɪ'a·ntsɪχʌntï'*[64]
spring-having (pl. obj.) mountain-having (pl. obj.) divide-having (pl. obj.)

kwɪ'kwi'tcuvatcɪtcï'[65] *pa·va·'n'nɔantsɪχʌntï'*[66] *ma·n·ɔ'q·u*[6·]
knoll-having (pl. obj.) valley-having (pl. obj.) all (obj.)

nɪŋwï'ai'yaq·w[67] *pu'tcu'tcuγwai'yɪq·w*.[68] *ïvʷɪ'an*[69] *ụnɪ'ŋuts'*
their (inv.) people (obj.) know them (inv.). Go ahead (pl.) me then

nï̤'[70] *na'uṗ·an*[71] *ma·m·a·'nɪ*[72] *nï̤'ŋum*[73] *ụnɪ'ŋuts·* *mǫï̤'mpa·ŋum'*,[70]
I like self me make (pl.) me, I you then shall lead you,'[71]

a'ip·ïγa' *cina'ŋwaφɪ.* *'anɪ'a·ŋ*[75] *a'ik·ᵡ*[76] *cina'ŋwav* *aŋ'*,
said Coyote. What he (vis.) say Coyote he?"

a'ik·'pïγa'[45] *narï'vʷiŋuq·waχa'*.[77] *ma·n·ɔ'q·oya·q·'*[78] *pu'tcu'tcuγwar*[79]
said (pl.) while asking each other. All (obj.) them (vis.) knowing

a'iya·ŋ[80] *'aiḵ·*[11] *uru'ac*[81] *ïvʷi'p·ï'*[82] *pu'u'rainaŋ*[83] *ụni'nʌ.*[84]
that he (vis.) say them (inv.) lands (obj.) whither our (inclus.) doing.

maŋa'c[85]	*ï'v^{w}aiyauq·u*	*nıa·'vıŋ'wa·m*[86]	*aŋ*	*a'ip·ïγa'*,	*^{im}p^{w}a'iaŋ*[87]
That one (vis.)	then	their (vis.) chief	he (vis.)	said,	"Let him (vis.)

a'iva[88]	*m^{w}α'ŋ'*[89]	*cina'ŋwav*	*aŋ'*	*qa'tc*	*'a'iyuŋwai'ţ·ţm'*[90]
shall say	that (vis.)	Coyote	he (vis.),	not	being good (neg.);

maa'it·ıŋk'tïv^{w}a·ŋaraŋ^{WA}.[91]
he (vis.) will cause us (inclus.) to be found out."

cina'ŋwav	*ųmu'^{RQ}wa·x·*[92]	*$^{NU^x}$qwı'm'mıap·ïγa'*[93]	*wa'a'ŋ^{I}pax·pïγa'*.[94]
Coyote	moving under them	ran along,	shouted while journeying.

'aa'ik·w,[24]	*a'ip·ïγa'*	*nıa·'vıŋ'wa·mï,*[86]	*anı'χaiaŋaraŋ^{WA}*[95]
"Oh!"	said	their (vis.) chief,	"so doing he (vis.) us (inclus.)

maa'it·ıŋk'tïx·qw'aiva.[96]	*ïv^{w}ï'aŋaraŋ^{WA}*[97]	*na·'p̣·antuγwa·ŋ*[98]
will perhaps cause to be caught.	Let us (inclus.) him (vis.)	together him (vis.)

W ï'cı'amamaxava·ŋ',[99]	*a'ip·ïγa'*	*nıa·'^{a}vıŋ'wa·m'.*	*tïv^{w}a*[100]
shall give him (vis.) feathers,"	said	their (vis.) chief.	Down

ųnı'ŋut·	*a·ŋa''vantux·w*[101]	*yuwα'k·^{I}pïγa'*[102]	*cina'ŋwavı'.*[103]
then	on to him	flew down (pl.)	Coyote (obj.).

cina'ŋwaϕ^{I}	*na'q·'tıŋq'pïγa.*[104]	*W ï'cı'amamax·pïγaiyaŋ*[105]
Coyote	dodged several times.	Gave (pl.) him feathers

na·'p̣·antux·^{WA}[106]	*cina'ŋwavı*	*a'ik·'pïγa',*	*ïv^{w}ï''ca'*[107]	*nɔntsi'q·u*[108]
together,	Coyote (obj.)	said (pl.),	"Go ahead	fly off

marï[109]	*avı'tcıtcï*[110]	*a'o'ra'*[111]	*ma·m·a'i*[112]	*ųnı'ŋuts·*	*paiyı'ŋumpa'.*[113]
that (obj.)	little ridge (obj.)	towards it	from on that	then	shall return."

ẏ·'mai,	*a'ip·ïγa'*	*cina'ŋwaϕ^{I}*	*nẏ·ntsi'q·^{U}pïγa*[114]	*a·vı'tcıtcï*[115]
"Yes,"	said	Coyote,	flew off,	little ridge (obj.)

qwaia'ŋqwɔp·ʻ[116]	*nǫ·ntsï'p·ïγaʻ*.[117]	*anı'an*	*ʻaik·ˣ,*	*a'ip·ïγaʻ*
beyond	flew.	"What I	say?"	said

nıa·'vıŋ'wa·mʻ.	*umʷα'nıva·nt*[118]	*ɥwaru''ª*	*mʷα'ŋA*	*cina'ŋwav*
their chief.	"About to be doing thus	he is	that	Coyote

aŋʻ	*qatcu'raŋwA*[119]	*ïvʷı'tsıχava·ŋ'wa'it·ıraŋwA.*[120]	*cina'ŋwaφI*
he,	not us	being about to obey (neg.) us."	Coyote

qǫ·'nıpïγa[121]	*a·vı'tcıtcïʻ*	*manaŋqwpai'yıq·w*[122]	*ʻa·mu'φA*[123]
came back	little ridge (obj.)	from its (inv.) other side,	at them

pı'tcıpïγaʻ.[124]	*ɔ'vʷaiyauqʻ*	*maŋac·*	*nıa·'v*	*aŋ*	*a'ip·ïγaʻ,*
arrived.	Then	that one	chief	he	said,

qatcU	*nǫ·ntsï'n'ıva·ŋwa'*[125]	*nïmʷi'ɔax·tux·w*[126]	*qatcU*	*wa'a'ŋıva·ŋwa'*[127]
"Not	shall be flying around	around us, (exclus.)	not	shall shout,

qatc	*qa·'va·ŋwa'*[128]	*pa'a'n·iʻ*.[129]	*ɣ·'mai,*	*a'ip·ïγaʻ*	*cina'ŋwaφI.*
not	shall sing	loud."	"Yes,"	said	Coyote.

ma·'n·un·ı[130]	*ya·'c·ıŋup·ïγaʻ*[131]	*tuγu'mpaiʻ*[132]	*'auraʻ*.[123]	*tï'vʷa*[100]
All	started to fly	sky (obj.)	towards it.	Westward

ɥnıtsˑ[134]	*ya·'c·pïγaʻ*[135]	*pu'u'raiv*[136]	*ɥnıŋ*[137]	*u'u'raʻ*.[18]	*cina'ŋwav*	*aŋ*
then	flew (pl.)	whither their own	do	towards it (inv.).	Coyote	he (vis.)

a·m·ɔ'ax·tux·w[138]	*nɔntsï'vurup·ïγaʻ*.[139]	*ï'vʷaiyauq·w*	*a'ip·ïγaʻ*
around them	flew hither and thither.	Then	said

nıa·'vıŋ'wa·mʻ,	*wï'ʻcı'aia·ŋaraŋ*[140]	*ɔva'q·aŋ·umpa·c·*[141]	*maa'it·ıŋkʻ-*
their (vis.) chief,	"His (vis.) feathers (obj.) we (inclus.)	shall again pull out (pl.),	he (vis.) will

tïvʷa·ŋaraŋw	*uru'ac·*[142]	*ani'χaʻ*.[143]	*ɔ'vʷaiyauq·ɔaŋʻ*[144]
cause us (inclus.) to be found out	that (obj. inv.)	doing."	Then him (vis.)

tcatca'i'p·ïγaiamʻ[145]	*tuγu'mpapaiya·'ªva·ntux·w*[146]	*wï'ʻsı'aiya·ŋ*[147]
they (vis.) took hold of	at sky-vault,	his (vis.) feathers (obj.)

ɔva'q·aŋup·ïγa'.[148] took off (pl.).
cina'ŋwav Coyote,
aŋ' he (vis.)
pɪ'tcu''amɪ[149] downward
cu'r'urup·ïγain·ɪ'[150] made noise of whizzing

tïv^{w}i'p·uv^{w}a·ntï[151] being on ground (obj.)
kwɪ'pa'p·ïγa'[152] fell,
tʌ'pa'c·pïγ[152] lay senseless,
ɥnɪ'ŋuts· then
pina'ŋqwʌ[154] soon

cuwa'p·itcɪp·ïγa'.[155] came to.
sa'a'p·i'[156] Mush (obj.)
pïŋɪ'k̟·aip·ïγa'.[157] saw.
a'ik·w, "Oh!"
a'ip·ïγa', said,

tïγï'vutsɪŋwɥnɪ'anɪ[158] "my friends, it seems,
sa'a'm·amax·qainɪ[159] have given (pl.) me mush,"
a'ip·ïχa' said
tɪ'qa'xai'k·wʌ.[160] while eating it (inv.).

pinaŋqw[154] Soon
ɔ'v^{w}aiyauq·' then
tɪ'qa'm·au'p·ɑtsï'q·w[161] having finished eating it (inv.)
cɪ^{x}pï'χïru- felt like

tca·q·aip·ïγain·ɪ'[162] cold thrill going through head,
maa'inɪpïγ[163] touched
ɥnɪ'ŋuts· then
tɔ'tsï'va·ntïɑφï.[164] being at his own head (obj.).

'aa'ik·w, "Oh!"
a'ip·ïγa' said
cina'ŋwaφɪ, Coyote,
tcɔ^{x}pɪ'k·ɪar'ɔn[165] "brains-obj.-inter.-I
ɥnɪ'k̟·a'[166] was indeed doing
tɪ'qa'χa'[167] eating?"

a'ip·ïγa'. said.
pɪ'pɪ't·a'nɪ't·ɪγax·pïγa'.[168] Tried to vomit.
na·ŋa'i'aip·ïγa'[169] Was angry
cina'ŋwaφɪ, Coyote,

ïv^{w}ïn[170] "Let me
naŋwa'x·p̣a·mpa'amï.[171] shall follow their (inv.) tracks."
tïv^{w}a'im'mɪap·ïγa'[172] Traveled west
cina'ŋwaφɪ Coyote,

'a·vɪ'ŋʊpïγa'.[173] passed night after night on journey.
pinaŋq Soon
ɔ'v^{w}aiyauq·' then
naŋqa'p·ïγa'aimï[174] heard them (inv.)

qa·'m·ɪa'nam'.[175] their (inv.) singing while moving along.
cina'ŋwav, "Coyote,"
a'ik·'pïγa, said (pl.),
u'v^{w}a·ŋ'[176] "there she (vis.)
nɪŋwï'rïraxwɔp·a[177] right among people

a·vi' lies
ma·m·a''utc[178] woman
uŋ' she (inv.),
imi'[179] of you
uŋw[180] she
'a'c·ɪnt̄uina'^{a}mɪ.[181] your liking."
ʊ·'mai, "Yes,"

a'ip·ïγa'	*cina'ŋwaφi.*	*'ava*[182]	*'arï'ac·*[183]	*qanı'p·ï*[184]	*'ava*
said	Coyote.	There	that (inan. obj.)	former camping place (obj.)	there

pı'tcıxw'aip·ïγa'[185]	*pU'ca'χaip·ïγaiaŋ'*[186]	*mam·a''utsï*[187]	*ɥnı'χaic·uaŋ'*[188]	
went and arrived,	looked for her (vis.)	woman (obj.),	so doing her (vis.)	

maa'ip·ïγa'.[189]	*axa'n·ıva·'ŋan*[190]	*u'v^{w}ai',*[191]	*a'ip·ïγa'*	*cina'ŋwaφI.*
found.	"How shall I her (vis.) do	then?"	said	Coyote.

uŋwa''vantuγwa'ŋUpïγa'[192]	*saχwı·'ai'aŋw*[193]	*uv^{w}a''an'*[194]
Got on top of her (inv.),	her (inv.) stomach (obj.)	on it (inv.)

wïwï'n'ı^{x}qup·ïγa'.[195]	*ɥnı'χcu'uŋw*[196]	*wï'ï'k·UpïγA'*[197]	*maŋa'c·*
began to stand stamping.	So doing to her (inv.)	fell out	that one

ïŋa·''pitc[198]	*aŋ'.*
baby	he (vis.).

axa'n·ıva·ŋan[190]	*uv^{w}ai',*	*a'ip·ïγa'*	*cina'ŋwaφI.*	*ï'v^{w}aiyauq̇·uŋwA*[199]
"In what way shall I do to him (vis.)	then?"	said	Coyote.	Then him (inv.)

yï'ï'k·IpïγA'aiŋwA[200]	*paiyı'k·'pïγa*[201]	*'u'ra*[18]	*tïv^{w}ı'p·uaiauφï.*[202]	
swallowed him (inv.),	came back	towards it (inv.)	his own country (obj.).	

a·vı'ŋUpax·pïγaic·U[203]	*saχwı·'a·φA^{x}qaŋqïpïγa'*[204]	*ma'n·*[205]	*un·ıvä·ntï*[206]	
Again passed night after night on journey,	had stomach-ache.	"In that way	being about to do	

mam·a''uts·,	*a'ip·ïγa'*	*cina'ŋwaφI.*	*ï'v^{w}aiyauq·'*	*qumu'ntuaRïpïγa'.*[207]
woman,"	said	Coyote.	Then	heated stones on fire.

ɥnı'ŋumï·ts·[208]	*wa'a'p·ï'*[209]	*pA'pa·'raŋqai*[210]	*o'mA*[211]	*pïrï''rïp·ïγa*[212]	
After doing so	of cedar	limb (obj.)	on it (inv.)	hung on;	

ɥnı'χ'uŋw[213]	*ïŋa·''pitc*	*aŋ'*	*wï'ï'k·UpïγA'.*	*ï'v^{w}aiyauq·'*	*m^{w}ıɔ't·ıγan·ı'*[214]	
while he (inv.) did so	baby	he (vis.)	fell down.	Then	when at considerable distance	

qʊ'qwa'i'ɔnaγw'aiŋup·ïγa'.[215] *pɪ'tcɪpïγa'* *na'a'it·ɪp·ïγa'aik·wA*[216]
went to get armful of wood. Arrived, caused it (inv.) to burn;

qumʊ'ntïaʀïqainav[217] *ʊv^{w}a''a·χ*[218] *a·vɪ'p·ïγa'* *yu·'t·uitcï'*[219]
his own having heated stones on fire on top of it (inv.) lay, being warm (obj.)

pa·i[220] *ivi'p·ïγa'*.[221] *ɥɪ'ŋuts·* *tsï'q·uŋ'wanumpuʀpïγa*[222] *ɥm*[223]
water drank. Then made hair-scratcher, with it (obj.) (inv.)

ɥɪ'ŋuts· *nantsï'x·quŋ'^{a}pïγa'*.[224] *i'in·*[225] *ɥɪ'vä·ntï*[206] *ma·m·a''uts·*
then scratched himself in hair. "In this way being about to do woman

nïntu'aŋqïŋuts·,[226] *a'ip·ïγa'* *cina'ŋwaɸɪ.*
having given birth to child," said Coyote.

FOOTNOTES.

[1] *cïnaŋwavi-* COYOTE, only used in myths; *-vi-* noun suffix (§ 24, 1, b); *ı* < *ï* (§ 3, 3, b); *-y'a-* quotative enclitic (§ 19, 2, m); *-γw* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-γwa-* preterital enclitic (§ 19, 1, a).

[2] Post-nominal pronoun (§ 42, 1).

[3] *m^{w}α'-*, *m^{w}a'-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-va'*, final form (§ 8, 1, d) of *-va·-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38).

[4] *qani-^{s}* HOUSE; *-χa'* spirantized (§ 16, 1), palatalized (§ 13, 4), final (§ 8, 1, e) form of *-kai-* verbalizing suffix TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). TO HAVE A HOUSE > TO DWELL.

[5] *piŋwa-* wife; *-aŋa-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). *piŋwa-aŋa-* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) to *piŋwa·ŋ*; *a·* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2).

[6] See note 2; final vowel elided (§ 7, 1).

[7] *aŋa-* third person animate singular pronoun (§ 39; 39, 3); *-ruγwa-*, elided (§ 7, 1) to *-ruγw-*, *-ruχw-*, postposition (§ 50, 4, 30).

[8] *ai-* to say; *-p·ïγai-*, in final form (§ 8, 1, e), tense suffix of myth narrative (§ 32, 6).

[9] *cïï-^{s}* SQUAW-BUSH TWIG; *-xa-* verbalizing suffix TO ACQUIRE (§ 26, 1, c); *-ŋqï-* indirective FOR (§ 29, 11); *-xw'ai-* TO GO IN ORDER TO (§ 28, 3); *-n* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ni-* pronominal enclitic ME (§ 40; 40, 3). Imperative in form (§ 52).

[10] *'a^{i}c·ı-^{s}* < *'aïc·ı-^{s}* (§ 3, 3, a) GATHERING-BASKET; *-tcu-* < *-ru-*, *-tu-* (§ 13, 3) TO MAKE (§ 26, 1, d); *-v^{w}a-* < *-va·-* (§ 14, 3, b) temporal suffix of future time (§ 32, 4); *-t·n̥-* < *-tsı-* (§ 3, 2, c,; § 13, 7, a) gerund (§ 55, 1, a); *-n* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ni-* pronominal enclitic I (§ 40), subject of following verb, to which gerund is morphologically subordinate.

[11] *ai-* TO SAY; *-k̲·* elided (§ 7, 1) and palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-q·a-* tense suffix (§ 32, 2).

[12] *ų-* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) form of *u-* invisible demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-mα-^{n}*, *-ma-^{n}* postposition (§ 50, 4, 7); *-ntï'* < *-ntïa-* (§ 8, 1, a) objective form (§ 49, 1) of participial *-ntï-* (§ 25, 6, a). Form is objective because logically dependent on objectively thought *cïï-* of preceding verb (note 9); GET SQUAW-BUSH TWIGS BEING THEREFROM > GET SOME OF THE SQUAW-BUSH TWIGS.

[13] See § 61, 1.

[14] See note 1. *-ɸı* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-vi-*.

[15] *ųnu-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-ts* elided from *-tsı-* gerund (§ 55, 1, a). HAVING SO DONE = THEN.

[16] *'o'x-* < *'o'o-* (§ 8, 2, b) < *'o·'-* (§ 10, 1) contracted from demonstrative stem *'o'-* (§ 43, 1) and *-u-*; *-up̣·a(·)-^{n}* postposition (§ 50, 4, 35); *-ŋqw'ai-* TO GO (§ 28, 1); *-p·ïγa'* as in note 8.

[17] *cïï-*^{s} as in note 9; *-v*^{w}*ï-*^{n} < *-vï-*^{n} (§ 14, 3, b) nominal suffix for PLANTS (§ 24, 1, e); *-mpï-* nominalizing suffix used with possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 1, d); *-a-* possessive suffix (§ 24, 2, a); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-u-* glide (§ 5, 2); *-v* elided (§ 7, 1) form of *-vï-* reflexive possessive (§ 40, 4). Form is objective because in apposition with following postpositional phrase (§§ 49; 50, 3).

[18] = *u'u'ra'*. *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-'ura'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-'urai-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36).

[19] Adverb of degree (§ 60, 2, c).

[20] *miɔ-* local adverbial stem (§ 60, 2, b); *-n·ι* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-n·ια-* enclitic LIKE (§ 19, 2, d) appended to several adverbs.

[21] *ɥni-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-n'ni-* continuative (§ 30, 12); *-p·ï·γa'* as in note 8. WAS DOING ALONG used in idiomatic sense (§ 62, 1) to refer to movement.

[22] *naŋqa-* TO HEAR.

[23] *qa·-* TO SING; *-p·i'* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of- *p·ia-*; *-p·i-* past passive participial suffix (§ 25, 5, a), *qa·p·i-* meaning literally WHAT HAS BEEN SUNG; *-a-* objective (§ 49, 1), noun being direct object of preceding verb.

[24] Elided (§ 7, 1) from *'aik·wi-* (§ 61, 1).

[25] *pua-*^{s} SUPERNATURAL POWER, SUPERNATURAL; *-ru'a-* verbalizing suffix TO BECOME (§ 26, 1, f); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-yu-* assimilated (§ 3, 3, f) from *-yï-* present temporal suffix (§ 32, 1); *-ruɔ-* = *-ru'a-* (§ 3, 1, c) interrogative enclitic (§ 19, 2, f) going with following enclitic *-γain·ia-* to mean APPARENTLY; *-n·ι-* subjective pronominal enclitic (§ 40, 2); *-χain·ι'* palatalized (§ 13, 4) final (§ 8, 1, a) form of modal enclitic *-γain·ia-* (§ 19, 2, a).

[26] *cuwα-* with glide *-w* (§ 14, 3, a) modal adverb NEARLY (§ 60, 2, d) generally used as verb prefix (§ 20, 12); *-ru'a-* interrogative enclitic (§ 19, 2, f); *-nɪ* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of subjective pronominal enclitic *-ni-* (§ 40, 2), subject of following verb. NEARLY? = PERHAPS.

[27] Final form (§ 8, 1, c) of *nɔn·ɔc·i-yï-*; *nɔ·-* inorganically lengthened (§ 4, 2, a); *nɔn·ɔc·i-* TO DREAM; *-yï-* present temporal suffix (§ 32, 1).

[28] Temporal adverb (§ 60, 2, a).

[29] *pua-*^{s} as in note 25; *-xant* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-xantï-* HAVING, present participle (§ 25, 6, a) of *-γai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). HAVING SUPERNATURAL POWER = MEDICINE-MAN.

[30] Substantive verb of animate singular subject (§ 56, 1), compounded of *uŋw* HE (§ 39, 1) and *aru'a-* TO BE (§ 43, 4). Note following first personal subject despite its composition with third personal element.

[31] Independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); nasalization secondary (§ 6, 2).

[32] Properly *u'v*^{w}*aiyauq·u*, pronunciations with *ï-* and *ɔ-* due to careless articulation of unemphatic word. Temporal adverb (§ 60, 2, a) composed of demonstrative *u-* (§ 43, 1) and *-v*^{w}*aiyauq·u-* labialized (§ 14, 3, b) from *-vai-yauq·u-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 41).

[33] Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *naŋqaɬca-* TO LISTEN consists of *naŋqa-* TO HEAR (cf. note 22) and rare suffix *-ɬca* (§ 26, 1, j); *-ɣwɻnι-* postvocalic (§ 13, 2) form of *wïnι-* to stand, secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2); *-p·ï·γa'* as in note 8.

[34] *qatcu-* NOT (§ 57) broken because of following element; *-' . . .q·wa-* pronominal enclitic IT (inv.) used objectively (§ 40, 3), in final form (§ 8, 1, a).

[35] So frequently heard for *paγa'inᵘNUᵡqwɪ-* compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *paγai-* with inorganic *-a-* (§ 3, 2, a) TO WALK; *nuq·wi-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) to *-nᵘNU'qwi-* TO STREAM, RUN; *-p·ïγa'* as in note 8. TO WALK-STREAM = TO START OFF.

[36] Simplified from *ɥɲɪ'ŋuts·* (§ 13, 7, a). For analysis see note 15.

[37] *naŋqa-* TO HEAR; *-p·ïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-cu-* enclitic suffix AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k); *-'* . . . *.q·w* as in note 34.

[38] *tïrac·ɪk·wa-* TO STOP; *ï* > *ɪ* (§ 3, 3, b); *-c·ɪ-* < *-c·ï-*, unvoiced to *c·ï-*, *-c-* (§ 8, 2, a); *-k·wa-*> *-k·wɔ-* (§ 3, 1, c); *-p·ïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-c·u* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of enclitic *-c·u-* AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k).

[39] As in note 33, except that *-ŋwï-* is labialized to *-ŋɥ-* (§ 3, 3, d); *-c·u-* and *-'* . . . *.q·w* as in note 37.

[40] Adjective-verb compound (§ 18, 2, b). *'a't·ï-* WELL irregular participial form in *-t·ï-* (§ 25, 6, a) of verb stem *'a'yu-* TO BE GOOD; *-na'ŋqᵡ-* < *na'ŋqᴀ-*: *naŋqa'-* TO HEAR (§ 10, 1); *-p·ïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-'* . . . *.k·wa-* enclitic pronominal object IT (inv.) (§ 40, 3) dissimilated (§ 13, 7, c) from elided *-'k·w* (§ 7, 1) to *-'k·*.

[41] *qa·-* TO SING; *-q·'-* = *-q·ᴀ-* unvoiced form (§ 8, 2, a) of *-q·a-* suffix indicating plural subject (agent) of verb (§ 31, 1, c); *-pï'* = *-p·ia-* as in note 23.

[42] Independent subjective personal pronoun (§ 39, 1) with preserved final vowel followed by ' because coming before *ani-* TO DO (§ 7, 3).

[43] Song form for *anɪ'kᵡᴀ. anɪ-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-ḵ·a-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-q·a-* as in note 41.

[44] Myth form. *kwi·mv·ᵘrα-ⁿ* of unknown significance; *-ntɪk·a-* nasalized (§16, 3) form of *tïq·a-* TO EAT; *-mɪa-* plural verb of movement (§ 18, 2, a) TO GO IN ORDER TO (§ 28, 3); *-γa'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-γai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b).

[45] *ai-* and *-p·ïγa'* as in note 8; *-kᵡᴀ-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *-q·a-* as in note 41.

[46] *qa·-* TO SING; *-m'mɪa-* TO MOVE WHILE -ING (§ 28, 4); *-γa* as in note 44.

[47] *tuγumpa-ᵍ* SKY; *-pa(i)ya·ᵃ-ruq·wᴀ* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 45).

[50] *nɔntsɪ-* TO FLY; *-ḵ·a-* as in note 45 (but voiced form); *-mɪa-* and *-γa'* as in note 44.

[51] Independent subjective pronoun (§ 39, 1).

[52] *ɔvan·aŋqa-* GOOSE; *-ŋw* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ŋwï-* animate plural (§ 48, 1).

[53] Post-nominal pronoun (§ 42, 2).

[54] Compound of numeral stem and noun (§ 59, 2, b). *waa-*, *wa·-* TWO; *nɪ(y)a·-vɪ-* CHIEF with nominal suffix *-vi-* (§ 24, 1, b); *-ŋw-* as in note 52.

[55] Compound of quasi-numeral and noun (§ 59, 3, b; § 59, 2, b). *nanɪ'na-* BOTH, DIFFERENT (with inanimate nouns); *-q·(w)ɔ-* objective suffix (§ 59, 2, a) used also in composition; *yaγa·-* END; *-maxɋam* = *-maᴀɋamï* (§ 8, 2, a); *-ma-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 7); *-ᴀɋamï* unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) form of *-aɋ·amï-* combined pronominal enclitic (§ 41, 1, e) referring to subject and possessive of noun with postposition (§ 41, 2, d).

[56] Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *wɥɲɪ-* TO STAND; *-m·ɪa-* SEVERAL JOURNEY; *-p·ïγa'* as in note 8.

[57] Cf. note 1. *-vi-* elided (§ 7, 1) to *-v*.

[58] *pïni-* TO SEE, LOOK; *ï* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2); *-ḵ·ai-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-q·ai-* resultative (§ 30, 9), regularly suffixed to *pïni-* in its normal sense of TO SEE; *-p·ïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6) broken (§ 15, 2, a) to *-p·ïγa'ai-* by following pronominal element; *-'* . . *.m‘* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of objective pronominal enclitic *-'* . . *.mï-* THEM (inv.) (§ 40, 3).

[59] As in note 32. Final *-u-* elided (§ 7, 1); *-w* glide (§ 14, 3, c).

[60] *ma·n·ɔ-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *man·ɔ-* ALL (§ 59, 3, a); *-q̇·wo-* objective *-q·o-* (§ 49, 1; § 59, 2, a) with glide *-w-* (§ 14, 3, c) and glottalized *q̇* (§ 15, 2, b) due to following pronominal element; *-'* . . *.q·wA* objective pronominal enclitic (§ 40, 3) pleonastically referring to following objective noun, to which *man·ɔ-q·wo-* is attributive.

[61] *qa·nɪ-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *qani-* house; *-t·ɪrïa-* reduplicated plural of *-t·ïa-* PLACE OF (§ 25, 4, a); *-i‘* final form (§ 8, 1, c) of objective *-ya-* (§ 49, 1). Object used genitively with *nɪŋwï'ai'yaq·w* below (note 67): I KNOW THE PEOPLE OF ALL THE CAMP-PLACES.

[62] *pa·p·a·-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, d) of *pa·-s* WATER, SPRING; *-γantï‘* = *-γantïA* objective form (§ 49, 1) of *-γantï-* HAVING (§ 25, 6, a) participial form of *-γai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). Objective in form because modifying *qa·nɪ't·ɪrïai‘*.

[63] *qa·q·aiva-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, d) of *qaiva-* mountain; *-ntsɪ-s* diminutive (§ 35, 2); *-γαntï‘* palatalized form (§ 13, 4) of *-γαntï‘* as in note 62.

[64] *mïm^{w}ɪa-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, c) of *mïa·-n* DIVIDE generally in form *mïa·'γantï-*; *-ntsɪ-* and *-γαntï‘* as in note 63.

[65] *kwɪ'kwi'tcuva-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c) of *kwitcuva-s* appearing generally in participial form *kwitcu'va-rï-* KNOLL; *-tcɪ-* assimilated (§ 13, 8, e) from *-tsɪ-s* diminutive (§ 35, 2); *-tcï‘* = *-tcïA* objective form (§ 49, 1) of participial *-tcï-* (§ 25, 6, a) assibilated from *-rï-*, *-tï-* (§ 13, 3). Syntax as in note 62.

[66] *pa·va·n'nɔa-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *pava·n'nɔa-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, b) of *pa·n'nɔa-* HOLLOW, VALLEY generally in form *pa·n'nɔ-aγantï-*; *-ntsɪ-* and *-γαntï‘* as in note 63.

[67] *nɪŋwïa-* PEOPLE OF (A PLACE) consisting probably of *nïŋwï-* PERSON and possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-ya-* objective (§ 49, 1); *-'* . . *.q·w* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4), THEIR (INAN.) referring to *ma·n·ɔ'-q̇·woq·w* . . . *pa·va·'n'nɔantsɪγαntï‘*. Object of following verb.

[68] *pu'tcu'tcuγwa-* TO KNOW probably contains instrumental prefix *pu-g* (§ 21, 4); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-yɪ-* < *-yï-* present tense (§ 32, 1); *-'* . . *q·w* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[69] = *ïv^{w}i'yan* (§ 13, 6). *ïv^{w}i-* hortatory adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-ya-* dual-plural imperative enclitic (§ 52); *-n* elided (§ 5, 1) from *-ni-* ME (§ 40, 3).

[70] Subjective in form because object of imperative construction (§ 39, 1; § 52).

[71] *na-* reflexive pronominal stem (§ 46); *-uṗ·a-* postposition (§50, 4, 35); *-n* for *-nɪ* voiceless (§ 8, 1, a) form of *-ni-* ME (§ 40, 3).

[72] *ma·m·a·*- secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *mam·a·*- reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c) of *ma·*- TO MAKE INTO; *-nɪ* as in note 71. Observe that ME is expressed four times in this sentence.

[73] *nį̈*- secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *nï- ɪ* (§ 39, 1); *-ŋum* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ŋumi-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3). For combination of independent and enclitic pronoun, see § 40, 6, a.

[74] *mǫ̨į̈*- nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *moi-*^{n} TO LEAD; *-mpa·*- future of intention (§ 32, 4); *-ŋum'* = *-ŋumɪ* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-ŋumi-* as in note 73.

[75] Elided (§ 7, 1) and contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *'anɪa-aŋa-*; *'anɪa-* objective WHAT? with verb of saying (§ 44, 1, d); *-aŋa-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

[76] As in note 11, except for voiceless form (*-k·ɤ* = *-k·ɤ$_A$*; § 8, 1, a) of suffix.

[77] *na-*^{s} reciprocal prefix (§ 22, 1); *-rïvʷiŋu-* spirantized (§ 16, 1) from *tïvʷiŋu-* TO ASK probably containing momentaneous *-ŋu-* (§ 30, 5); *-q·wa-* labialized (§ 14, 3, c) from *-q·a-* plural suffix (§ 31, 1, c); *-χa'* = *-ɣa'* as in note 44.

[78] *ma·n·ɔq·o-* as in note 60. *-ya·q·'* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *-ya-aq·$_A$*; *-ya-* probably for *-y'a-* quotative enclitic (§ 19, 2, m); *-aq·$_A$* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[79] *pʊ'tcu'tcuɣwa-*^{s} TO KNOW as in note 68; *-r* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-rï-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). For indicative use of participle, see § 55, 4, e.

[80] *ai-* inanimate demonstrative (§ 43, 5); *-y-* glide (§ 14, 2); *-a·ŋ* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *-a-aŋ*; *-a-* objective (§ 49, 1); *-aŋ* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-aŋa-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

[81] = *uru'a-c·u-* objective independent inanimate pronoun (§ 39, 1).

[82] = *tïvʷi'p·ɪ$_A$* objective (§ 49, 1) of *tïvʷip·ï-* LAND containing nominal suffix *-p·ï-* (§ 24, 1, d). Object of *pʊ'tcu'tcuɣwar*, takes up *-aq·$_A$* of note 78.

[83] Assimilated (§ 3, 3, f) from *pï-'urai-*; *pï-* relative pronoun (§ 45); *-'urai-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36); *-naŋ* < *-naŋw* (§ 13, 7, c) < *-naŋwa-* (§ 7, 1) apparently dissimilated from, if not misheard for, *-raŋwa-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[84] *ɥni-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-nA* suffix of verbal noun (§ 25, 3) used as equivalent of relative clause (§ 45).

[85] Independent animate singular pronoun (§ 39, 1) anticipating following *nɪa·'vɪŋ'wa·m· aŋ.*

[86] *nɪa·vɪ-* CHIEF; *-ŋ'wa·m·* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ŋ'wa-am·ï-*; *-ŋ'wa-* possessive suffix (§ 24, 2, b); *-am·ï-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[87] *impʷai-* modal adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-aŋ* as in note 80, anticipates following *cina'ŋwav aŋ'*.

[88] *ai-* TO SAY; *-va* final form (§ 8, 1, d) of *-va·*- future suffix (§ 32, 4).

[89] Animate singular demonstrative (§ 39, 1) used attributively with following noun.

[90] *'a(i)yu-* TO BE GOOD; *-ŋwai'-* negative suffix (§ 57, 2, b); *-t·ï-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); *-m'* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-mï-* animate plural suffix (§ 48, 1).

[91] *maai-* TO FIND OUT; *-t·ɪ-* contracted (§ 4, 1, c) from *-t·ui-* causative suffix (§ 29, 12); *-ŋk'-* = *-ŋkï-* voiceless form (§ 10, 1) of *-ŋkï-* indirective suffix (§ 29, 11); *-tï-* = *-tï-* passive suffix (§ 29, 13); *-vʷa·ŋa-* < *-va·-aŋa-* (§ 14, 3, b; § 4, 1, a); *-va·-* future (§ 32, 4); *-aŋaraŋwA* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-aŋaraŋwa-* enclitic pronouns of subject and object (§ 41, 1, d; § 41, 2, a).

[92] *ɥmu-* animate plural personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-RQwa·x·* = *-RUQwa·x·ɪ* unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a and 2, a; § 10, 1) from *-ruq·wa·γi-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 31).

[93] *NUˣqwɪ-* TO RUN; *-m'mɪa-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 4); *-p·ïγa'* tense suffix (§ 32, 6).

[94] Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *wa'a'ŋɪ-* unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) from *wa'aŋi-* TO SHOUT; *-pax·-* = *-pax·ɪ-* unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *-paγ(a)i-* TO WALK, TO — WHILE JOURNEYING; *-pïγa'* as in note 93.

[95] *anɪ-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-χai-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-γai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b); *-aŋaraŋwA* as in note 91.

[96] = *maa'it·ɪŋk'tï-* (§ 8, 2, a and b) as in note 91. *-qw'ai-* apparently semi-temporal use of *-q·wa'ai-* OFF (§ 28, 2); *-va* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-va·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4).

[97] *ïvʷï-* modal adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-aŋaraŋwA* as in note 91, except that functions of subject and object are reversed.

[98] Contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *na-uṗ·antuγwa-aŋA*; *na-* reciprocal pronoun (§ 46); *-uṗ·a-ntuγwa-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4); *-aŋA* enclitic pronominal object (§ 40, 3).

[99] *wï'cɪa-* so heard for *wï'cɪa·-* FEATHER incorporated as noun object (§ 18, 2, f, γ); *-mamaxa-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c), indicating plurality of subject, of *maγa-* TO GIVE; *-va·ŋ'* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *-va·-aŋA*; *-va·-* as in note 96; *-aŋA* as in note 98.

[100] *tïvʷai-* (§ 7, 2) local adverb (§ 60, 2, b).

[101] Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *aŋa'vantuγwa-*; *aŋa-* animate singular personal pronoun (§ 39, 1 and 3); *-'vantuγwa-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 47).

[102] *yu(w)αk·i-* TO FLY DOWN (plural subject) unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a); *-pïγa'* as in note 93.

[103] = *cina'ŋwavɪA* objective form (§ 49, 1) because referring to postpositional phrase (§ 49, 2; see note 101).

[104] Abreviated form (§ 10, 3) of *nana'q·Atïŋqïpïγa'*; *nana'q·Atï-* reduplicated iterative (§ 58, 4, d) of *naγat·ï-* momentaneous form (§ 53, 2, b) of *naγarï-* TO DODGE; *-ŋqï-* indirective (§ 29, 11); *-pïγa* as in note 93.

[105] *wï'cɪ'amamax·-* as in note 99, except that *-maγa-* is unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) to *-max·-*; *-pïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-y-* glide (§ 14, 2); *-aŋ* = *-aŋA* as in note 98.

[106] Cf. note 98.

[107] *ïvʷï-* modal adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-'-* second person singular subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2); *-ca'ᵃ* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, i).

[108] *nɔntsɪ-* TO FLY; *-q·u-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 7).

[109] Inanimate demonstrative elided (§ 7, 1) from *marïa-* objective (§ 39, 1 and 4) in agreement with following noun.

[110] *avɪ-* TO LIE; *-tcɪ-* assimilated (§ 13, 8, e) from *-tsɪ-*^{s} diminutive suffix (§ 35, 2); *-tcï-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); objective *-a-* (§ 49, 1) elided (§ 7, 1). Form is objective because construed periphrastically with following postpositional phrase (§ 50, 3).

[111] *a-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-'orai-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36).

[112] Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *mam·aiu-* = *mam·ayu* (§ 13, 6); *ma-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-m·a-yu-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 7).

[113] *pa(i)yï-*, *pa(i)yɪ-* TO RETURN; *-ŋu-*^{n} momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-mpa'* final form (§ 8, 1, d) of *-mpa·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4).

[114] See note 108. Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *nɔntsɪ-* TO FLY.

[115] *a·vɪ-* secondarily lengthened from *avi-* (§ 4, 2, a). See note 110.

[116] *qwaia-*^{n} local adverb (§ 60, 2, b); *-ŋqwap·a-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 16) labialized (§ 3, 1, c) to *-ŋqwɔp·a-*.

[117] Cf. note 114. *-tsï-*, *-tsi-* < *-tsɪ-* (§ 3, 2, b). Note durative force (§ 30) of verb because unprovided with *-q·u-* suffix.

[118] *ᵘmwɑ'nɪ-* TO DO THUS (§ 43, 3); *-va·-*^{n} future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-nt* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ntï-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). For syntax see § 55, 4, d.

[119] *qatcu-* negative adverb (§ 57); *-raŋWA* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[120] *tïvʷɪtsɪχa-* TO OBEY; *-va·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-ŋ'wai-* negative (§ 57, 2, b); *-t·ɪ-* = *-t·ï-* (§ 3, 3, b) participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); *-raŋWA* as in note 119. For pleonastic use of pronoun see § 40, 5.

[121] *qɔ·ni-* TO COME BACK; secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) to *qɧ·nɪ-*.

[122] Probably for *mana'ŋqWA-pa(i)'yu-q·WA* (§ 3, 5, c). *manaŋqwap·a(i)-yu-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 7 and 49) apparently here used as independent word following objective form of noun (§ 50, 3); *-' . . .q·WA* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4) referring to *a·vɪ'tcɪtcï'*.

[123] Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and rounded (§ 3, d) from *'amï-* independent animate plural third personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-ɸA* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-va-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 37).

[124] Abbreviated form (§ 10, 3) of *pɪ'pɪ'tcï-* reduplicated momentaneous form (§ 58, 5, c) of *pïtcï-* TO ARRIVE.

[125] *nɧ·ntsï-* as in note 117; *-n'ɪ-* continuative suffix (§ 30, 12); *-va·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-ŋwa'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-ŋwa'ai-* negative suffix (§ 57, 2, b).

[126] *nïmʷi-* independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-ɔaɣït·uɣwa-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 26).

[127] *wa'aŋi-* TO SHOUT; *-va·ŋwa'* as in note 125.

[128] *qa-* TO SING; *-va·ŋwa'* as in note 125.

[129] Final form (§ 8, 1, c) of *pa'a'n·i-yï-*; *pa'an·i-* TO BE HIGH, LOUD; *-yï-* present temporal suffix (§ 32, 1). For syntax, see § 55, 3.

[130] Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *man·u-n·ɪa-* ALL (§ 59, 3, a).

[131] *ya·c·ɪ* SEVERAL FLY; *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-p·ïɣa'* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6).

[132] *tuγumpa-* SKY analyzable into *tuγu-*^{n} UP (§ 60, 2, b) and nominal suffix *-mpa-* (§ 24, 4, b); *-i* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ia-*, *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

[133] = *a'u'rdˋ· a-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1) referring to preceding noun; *-'uraˋ* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36).

[134] *ɥnɪ-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-ts·* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-tsɪ-* gerund (§ 55, 1 a). HAVING SO DONE > THEN.

[135] *ya·c·-* unvoiced form (§ 8, 2, a) of *ya·c·i-* SEVERAL FLY.

[136] *pu'urai-* as in note 83; *-v* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-vï-* reflexive possessive pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[137] *ɥnɪ-* TO DO; *-ŋ* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5). For absolute verbal form in relative clause, see § 45.

[138] Read *a·m·ɔ·'ax·ɪtux·wA* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a), assimilated (§ 3, 3, e), contracted (§ 4, 1, f), and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *am·ïɔaγit·uγwa-*; *am·ï-* animate plural independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-ɔaγit·uγwa-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 26).

[139] < *nɔntsɪ-* (§ 3, 2, b) TO FLY; *-vuru-* compounded verb stem TO GO FROM PLACE TO PLACE (§ 18, 2, a).

[140] = *wï'cɪ'a·-ya-aŋa-raŋwa-* (§ 13, 6; § 4, 1, a; § 13, 7, c); *wï'cɪa·-* FEATHER; *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-aŋaraŋwa-* combined subjective and possessive enclitic pronouns (§ 41, 1, d and 2, d).

[141] *ɔva-* TO PULL OUT (HAIR, FEATHERS); *-q·a-* suffix of plural subject (§ 31, 1, c); *-ŋu-*^{n} momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-mpa·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-c·u* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-c·u-* enclitic AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k).

[142] *urua-* objective inanimate pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-c·* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-c·u-* as in note 141.

[143] *ani-* TO DO; *-χaˋ* < *-χai-* (§ 13, 4; § 8, 1, e) subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b).

[144] = *u'v*^{w}*aiyauq·u-* (§ 3, 5, e) THEN; *-aŋA* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[145] *tcatcai'-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, b) of *tca'ai-* TO TAKE HOLD OF; *-p·ïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-amï-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

[146] *tuγumpa-* SKY; *-pa(i)ya·-va·ntuγwa-* compounded postposition (§ 50, 4, 45 and 38).

[147] = *wï'cɪ'a·-ya-aŋa-*. Cf. note 140.

[148] Cf. note 141.

[149] Local adverb (§ 60, 2, b).

[150] *cur'uru-* onomatopoetic stem with final reduplication (§ 58, 6); *-p·ïγai-* as in note 145; *-n·ɪˋ* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-n·ɪa-* modal enclitic LIKE (§ 19, 2, d).

[151] *tïv*^{w}*ɪp·u-* rounded (§ 3, 3, d) from *tïv*^{w}*ɪp·ï-* EARTH; *-v*^{w}*a·-* < *-va·-* (§ 14, 3, b) postposition (§ 50, 4, 38); *-ntï* = *ntïA* objective (§ 49, 1) form of participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). For syntax, see § 55, 4, c.

[152] *kwɪ'pa'-* TO STRIKE, FALL ON.

[153] *tAˋpa'c·i-* TO LIE SENSELESS; *-pïγ* over-elided (§ 7, 4) from *-pïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6).

[154] Temporal adverb (§ 60, 2, a).

[155] *cu(w)a-*^{g} TO BREATHE (dur. *cua-q·a-*, mom. *cua-ŋ'wi-*); *-pitcɪ-* TO ARRIVE. TO BREATHE ARRIVE = TO COME TO, TO REVIVE.

[156] *sa'a-* TO MAKE MUSH; *-p·i'* = *-p·iA* objective form (§ 49, 1) of past passive participial *-p·i-* (§ 25, 5, a), MUSH-MADE > MUSH. Object of following verb.

[157] See note 58.

[158] *tïγïvʷï-* FRIEND rounded (§ 3, 3, d) to *tïγïvu-*; *-tsɪ-* noun suffix (§ 24, 1, f); *-ŋwɥ-* rounded (§ 3, 3, d) and secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *-ŋwï-* animate plural suffix (§ 48, 1, b); *-nɪa-* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, d); *-nɪ* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[159] *sa'a-* MUSH incorporated object (§ 18, 2, f, γ); *-m·amax·-* unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *-m·amaγa-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c) of *maγa-* TO GIVE; *-qai-* perfective suffix (§ 32, 3); *-nɪ* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[160] *tï'qa'-ˢ* TO EAT > *tɪ'qa'-ˢ* (§ 3, 3, b); *-xai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b); *-'* . . . *.k·wa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[161] *tï'qa'-* TO EAT; *-m·au'p·a-* TO FINISH second stem in compound verb (§ 18, 2, a); *-tsï-* < *-tsɪ-* (§ 3, 2, b) gerund (§ 55, 1, a); *-'* . . *.q·wa-* as in note 160.

[162] *cï'pï'-ˢ* incorporated noun COLD with probably instrumental function (§ 18, 2, f, α); *-qïrutca·-* TO HAVE A THRILL GO THROUGH ONE'S HEAD; *-q·ai-* resultative suffix (§ 30, 9); *-p·iγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-n·ɪ'* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, d).

[163] *maain·i-* TO TOUCH consisting of instrumental prefix *ma-* (§ 21, 1) and stem *-ain i-* not occurring independently; *-pïγ* as in note 153.

[164] *tɔ'tsï'-* < *tɔt·sɪ'-* (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1; § 3, 2, b) HEAD; *-va·-ⁿ* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38); *-ntï-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); *-α-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-ϕï* unvoiced form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-vï-* reflexive possessive (§ 40, 4). For syntax, see § 55, 4, c.

[165] *tcɔ'pɪ'k·ɪ-* BRAIN contains instrumental prefix *tcɔ-ᵍ* (§ 21, 8); *-a-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-r'ɔ-* contracted (§ 4, 1, f) from *-ru'a-* interrogative enclitic (§ 19, 2, f); *-n* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ni-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

[166] *ɥnɪ-* TO DO; *-ḵ·a'* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and final (§ 8, 1, e) form of *-q·ai-* perfective suffix with inferential implication (§ 32, 3).

[167] *tï'qa'-ˢ* TO EAT; *-χa'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-γai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b).

[168] Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *pɪ'pɪ't·a'nɪ-ᵍ* reduplicated form (§ 58, 5, c) of momentaneous significance TO VOMIT; *-tɪγax·-* < *-tïγa·-* (§ 3, 3, b; § 8, 2, b; § 10, 1) TO TRY, TO PRACTISE.

[169] *naŋaï'ai-* TO BE ANGRY < TO DIE OF ANGER; *naŋa-* ANGER incorporated instrumental noun; *-ï'ai-* < *y(a)'ai-* (§ 13, 6) TO DIE.

[170] *ïvʷï-* hortatory adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-n* for *-nɪ* (§ 8, 1, a) subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2), subject of following verb.

[171] = *naŋwa'-uṗa·-ⁿ* (§ 8, 2, a); *naŋwa-* TRACKS; *-uṗ·a(·)-ⁿ* postposition (§ 50, 4, 35); *-mpa'amï* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from- *mpa·-* + *-'* . . *.mï-*; *-mpa·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-'* . . *.mï-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). For use of postpositional phrase as verb of motion, see § 50, 2.

[172] *ïvʷai-* local adverb verbified (§ 60, 2, b); *-m'mɪa-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 4).

[173] Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *'avɪŋu-*; *'avɪ-* TO LIE; *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5). *'avɪŋu-* TO LIE DOWN MOMENTANEOUSLY > TO CAMP OVER NIGHT.

[174] *naŋqa-* TO HEAR; *-p·ïγa'aimï* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-p·ïγai-* (§ 32, 6) + -' . . *.mï-* (§ 40, 3).

[175] *qa·-* TO SING; *-m·ɪa-* SEVERAL JOURNEY verb stem generally appearing in compounds (§ 18, 2, a) as plural verb of movement; *-na-* suffix of verbal noun (§ 25, 3); -' . . *.m'* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[176] Contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *uvʷa·-aŋa-*. *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-ʋʷa·-* < *-va·-* (§ 14, 3, b) postposition (§ 50, 4, 38); *-aŋᴀ* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2) anticipating following nominal subject WOMAN.

[177] *nɪŋwï-* < *nïŋwï-* (§ 3, 3, b) PERSON, PEOPLE; *-rïraxwɔ-* < *-rïraxua-ᵍ* (§ 3, 1, c) nominal base of compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 28); *-p·a* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-p·a·-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38).

[178] Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *mam·a''utsɪ-* WOMAN; *mam·a'u-* reduplicated stem (§ 58, 1); *-tsɪ-* noun suffix (§ 24, 1, f).

[179] Objective form of independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1) used genitively (§ 39, 4).

[180] Post-nominal pronoun (§ 42, 4): THE ONE WHOM YOU LIKE, in apposition with preceding WOMAN.

[181] *'a'c·ɪnt̓ui-* TO LIKE probably containing causative *-nt̓ui-* (§ 29, 12); *-na'ᵃmɪ* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-na-* verbal noun suffix (§ 25, 3) + -' . . *.mi-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). Verbal noun here used as practical equivalent of subjective relative clause see § 45).

[182] *'a-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-va* elided (§ 7, 2) from *-va·-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38).

[183] Independent third personal pronoun (§ 39, 1) used as demonstrative qualifier of following noun.

[184] Elided (§ 7, 1) from *qanɪ'p·ïa-*; *qanɪ-* HOUSE; *-p·ï-* past-passive participial suffix (§ 25, 5, b), here used as temporal noun suffix PAST (§ 24, 3, b); *-a-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1). THAT FORMER CAMPING PLACE is objective because in apposition with *'a-* of *'ava* IT-AT (§ 49, 2).

[185] *pɪtcɪ-, pɪtcï-* TO ARRIVE; *-xw'ai-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 3).

[186] *pᴜ'ca'χai-* TO LOOK FOR contains *pu-ᵍ* instrumental prefix (§ 21, 4); *-p·ïγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-aŋ'* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[187] See note 178. *-tsï* elided (§ 7, 1) and dulled (§ 3, 2, b) from *-tsɪa-*; *-a-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

[188] *ɥɪ-* TO DO; *-χai-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-γai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, a); *-c·u-* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, k; § 55, 1, a); *-aŋ'* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3), object of following verb.

[189] *maai-* TO FIND.

[190] *axan·ɪ-* TO ACT HOW? (§ 26, 2, b; § 44, 2, a); *-va·ŋan* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *-va·-aŋa-ni-*; *-va·-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-aŋani-* combined subject and object enclitic pronouns (§ 41, 2, a).

[191] Connective adverb (§ 60, 3).

[192] *uŋwa-* animate singular independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-'vantuγwa-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 47) verbified (§ 50, 2); *-ŋU-* voiceless form (§ 8, 2, a) of *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix with transitional significance (§ 30, 5).

[193] *saχwıa·-* STOMACH, BELLY; *-ia-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-' . . .ŋw* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-' . . .ŋwa-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). Objective because referring to following postpositional phrase.

[194] *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-vʷa'anA* < *-va'anA* (§ 14, 3, b) postposition (§ 50, 4, 47).

[195] *wïwï'n'ï-* reduplicated momentaneous form (§ 58, 5, c) of *wïnï-* TO STAND; *-qu-* inceptive suffix (§ 30, 7).

[196] *ŋnı-* TO DO; *-x̣-* = *-x̣·U-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and voiceless (§ 8, 2, a) form of *-γu-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, e); *-cu'uŋW* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-c·u-* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, k) + *-' . . .ŋwa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[197] *wï'ï-* TO FALL; *-k·U-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 7).

[198] *ïŋa·'-* BABY; *-pi-tc* < *-p·i-tsı-* (§ 7, 1) noun suffixes (§ 24, b and f).

[199] = *u'vʷaiyauq·u-* THEN (§ 60, 2, a) + *-' . . .ŋwa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[200] *yï'ïk·i-* TO SWALLOW; *-pïγa'aiŋWA* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-p·ïγai-* (§ 32, 6) + *-' . . .ŋwa-* as in note 199.

[201] *pa(i)yï-*, *pa(i)yı-* TO RETURN; *-k·i-* HITHER (§ 28, 5).

[202] *tïvʷıp·ï-* EARTH, COUNTRY rounded (§ 3, 3, d) to *tïvʷıp·u-*; *-a-* possessive suffix (§ 24, 2, a); *-ia-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-u-* glide (§ 5, 2); *-ϕï* voiceless form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-vï-* reflexive possessive pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[203] Cf. note 173. *-pax·-* = *pax·ı-* < *-paγ(a)i-* (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) TO WALK, as compounded verb stem (§ 18, 2, a) WHILE JOURNEYING, FROM PLACE TO PLACE.

[204] *saχwıa·-ᵉ* STOMACH incorporated as local noun (§ 18, 2, f, ε); *-ϕAᶻqaŋqï-* spirantized (§ 16, 1) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *paq·a-ŋqï-* TO HAVE A PAIN; *-ŋqï-* indirective suffix (§ 29, 11).

[205] Elided (§ 7, 1) from *man·i-* TO DO IN THAT WAY (§ 43, 3) here used as demonstrative adverb.

[206] *un·ı-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-vä·-ⁿ* < *-va·-ⁿ* (§ 3, 1, a) future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-ntï* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). Participle used in lieu of finite verb (§ 55, 4, e).

[207] Unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) from *qumu'ntuarï-* TO HEAT STONES ON FIRE containing instrumental prefix *qu-ᵍ* (§ 21, 12).

[208] See note 15. *-mï·-* AFTER (§ 30, 13).

[209] = *wa'a'p·ïA* objective form (§ 49, 1) of *wa'ap·ï-* CEDAR TREE; *wa'a-ᵍ* CEDAR; *-p·ï-* noun suffix for plants (§ 24, 1, e). Object used genitively (§ 49, 2) with following noun.

[210] *pA'pa·'raŋqa-* LIMB, BRANCH reduplicated noun (§ 58, 1). *-i* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

[211] *o-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-mA* postposition (§ 50, 4, 7).

[212] *pïrï'rï-* TO HANG ON of durative form (§ 30).

[213] *ɥnɪ-* TO DO; *-x̣u-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-γu-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, e); *-' . . .ŋw* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-' . . .ŋwa-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

[214] *mʷɪɔ-* adverbial stem FAR AWAY (§ 60, 2, b); *-t·ɪγan·ɪ'* < *-t·ïγan·ɪa-* (§ 3, 3, b; § 8, 1) local adverbial suffix (§ 60, 2, b).

[215] *qʊ'qwa-* WOOD incorporated as object (§ 18, 2, f, γ), absolute form *qʊ'qwa'-p·ɪ*; *iyɔna-* (§ 13, 6) TO CARRY IN ONE'S ARM; *-γw'ai-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 3); *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5).

[216] *na'ai-* TO BURN; *-t·ɪ-* contracted (§ 4, 1, c) from *-t·ui-* causative suffix (§ 29, 12); *-p·ïγa'aik·ʍA* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-p·ïγai-* (§ 32, 6) and *-' . . .k·wa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

[217] Cf. note 207. *-qai-* perfective suffix (§ 32, 3); *-na-* suffix of verbal noun (§ 25, 3); *-v* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-vï-* reflexive possessive pronoun (§ 40, 4).

[218] *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-vʷa'a·χ* < *-va'a·γi-* (§ 14, 3, b; § 7, 1) postposition (§ 50, 4, 46).

[219] *yu·t·ui-ˢ* TO BE WARM (in reference to water). *-tcï'* = *-tcïA*; *-tcï-* participial suffix assibilated (§ 13, 3) from *-tï-*, *-rï* (§ 25, 6, a); *-A* objective suffix (§ 49, 1) Objective in form to agree with following noun.

[220] Elided (§ 7, 1) from *pa·ia-*, *pa·ya-*; *pa·-* WATER; *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

[221] *ivi-* TO DRINK.

[222] Contracted (§ 4, 1, d), assimilated (§ 3, 3, f), and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *tsï-ï'q·uŋ'wa nïmpï-ru-*; *tsï-* < *tsɪ-* (§ 3, 2, b) instrumental prefix (§ 21, 9); *-ïq·uŋ'wa-* (?) verb stem used with prefix *tsɪ-* to indicate TO SCRATCH THE HEAD WITH A STICK; *-nïmpï-* suffix of noun of instrument (§ 25, 2); *-ru-* verbalizing suffix TO MAKE (§ 26, 1, d).

[223] Secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *uma-*; *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-ma-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 9).

[224] *nan-* reflexive prefix (§ 22, 1); *-tsï'x·quŋ'ᵃ-* probably < *-tsɪ'-ïq·uŋ'wa-* (§ 3, 2, b; § 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) see note 222.

[225] Elided (§ 7, 1) from *ɪ'i'n·i-* TO DO IN THIS WAY (§ 43, 3), here used as demonstrative adverb.

[226] *nï-ⁿ* PERSON, HUMAN BEING incorporated object (§ 18, 2, f, γ); *-ntua-* nasalized form (§ 16, 3) of *tua-* TO GIVE BIRTH denominative verb from *tua-* CHILD (of some one) (§ 47); *-ŋqï-* indirective suffix (§ 29, 11); *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-ts·* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-tsi-* gerund (§ 55, 1, a).

[TRANSLATION].

Coyote, it is said, was living there. His wife said to him, "Go and get squaw-bush twigs for me, who am going to make a gathering-basket, I say, out of them." "All right," said Coyote, and then he journeyed off in yonder direction towards his squaw-bush. He was very far away (when) he heard singing. "Oh!" said Coyote, "it looks as though I am going to be a medicine-man; perhaps I am going to dream. Already I am a medicine-man." And then he stood and listened, did not hear it. And then he started off. Then he heard it again, stopped again. Now again he stood and listened to it; this time he already heard well the singing of many: "Thus we do, traveling in order to eat people," said they, singing along under the sky, those geese, as they flew along. The two chiefs stood at either end of the line as they travelled along. Coyote saw them, and then he said, "Of all the camping places—those with springs, those with mountains, those with divides, those with knolls, those with valleys—all their people I know. Do you then make me into one of yourselves, and I shall lead you," said Coyote. "What did Coyote say?" said they, asking one another. "He says that he knows all those lands towards which we are going." That chief of theirs then said, "Let that Coyote talk, he is not a good one. He will cause us to be found out."

Coyote ran along under them, shouted as he went along, "Oh," said their chief, "in doing so he might cause us to be found out. Let each one of us give him feathers," said their chief. And then down on to Coyote they flew. Coyote kept dodging. Each one gave him feathers; they said to Coyote, "Go ahead! fly off towards that little ridge, and from it then you will return." "All right," said Coyote, and off he flew, flew beyond the little ridge. "What did I say?" said their chief. "That Coyote will always be doing thus, he will not obey us." Coyote returned from the other side of the little ridge, arrived where they were. Then that chief said, "You shall not keep flying around us, you shall not yell, you shall not sing out loud." "All right," said Coyote.

All set off flying towards the sky; westward, then, they flew off whither they were bound. Coyote flew back and forth around them. Then their chief said, "Let us pull out his feathers. By doing that (which he is doing) he will cause us to be found out." And then they took hold of him under the sky and pulled out his feathers. Down

came Coyote, making a whizzing noise; he fell upon the earth and lay senseless. Then, after a while, he came to. He saw mush. "Oh!" said he, "my friends, it seems, have given me mush," he said, as he ate it.

Then, after a while, when he had finished eating it, he felt as though a cold thrill went through his head; and then he touched his head. "Oh!" said Coyote, "is it my own brains that I have been eating?" said he. He tried to vomit. Coyote got angry (and said), "Now I will follow in their tracks." Coyote journeyed westward, he camped several nights on his way. Then, after a while, he heard them as they moved along singing. "Coyote," they said, "there in the midst of the people lies the woman whom you like." "All right," said Coyote. There at that old camping place he arrived. He looked for the woman and, in so doing, found her. "What, then, shall I do to her?" said Coyote. He got on top of her, stood stamping on her stomach. Just as he did so, that baby fell out.

"What, now, shall I do with him?" said Coyote. And then he swallowed him, and he turned back towards his own country. Again he camped several nights on his way; he had a stomach-ache. "In that way will it always be with a woman," said Coyote. And then he heated stones on the fire. After doing so, he hung on to a cedar limb; as he did so, the baby dropped down. Then he went off to a considerable distance for an armful of wood. He arrived, built a fire of it. He lay on top of the bed made of rocks that he had heated; he drank warm water. Then he made a head-scratcher and scratched his head with it. "In this way shall it be with a woman when she has given birth to a child," said Coyote.